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CONTENTS OF VOL. VIII.

	PAGE
On the Polycephalic Amulets of the Gnostics . H. Syer Cuming .	1
On Early Church Windows J. A. Repton .	6
On the Coins of Cunobeline and of the Ancient Britons.—Part XIV B. Poste .	9
On Ancient Chinese Vases T. J. Pettigrew .	18
On Ancient Painted Glass in Morley Church . J. G. Waller .	28
On the Tenth Iter of Antoninus J. Just .	35
On the Guildhall of the City of London . T. Brewer .	83
History of the Barber-Surgeons of London . T. J. Pettigrew .	95
On the Heaume or Tilting Helmet J. R. Planché .	131
Inaugural Discourse delivered at the Newark Congress Duke of Newcastle .	163
On the Forest Laws, Courts and Customs, of the Chief Justices in Eyre F. Dwarris .	173
On Early Burial Places discovered in Notts . T. Bateman .	183
On Sepulchral Urns, &c., found at Newark . G. Milner .	192
On the Family of Peverel of Nottingham . J. R. Planché .	194
On the Veritable Existence of Robin Hood . J. M. Gutch .	208
On the Era and Character of Robin Hood . J. O. Halliwell .	223
On Ancient Customs and Sports of the County of Notts Ll. Jewitt .	229
On Excavations near the Roman Wall on Tower Hill A. H. Burkitt .	240
Architectural History of the Church of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, of Southwell J. F. Dimock .	265
Archæological Gleanings at Lincoln and Southwell J. R. Planché .	304
On the Antiquity of Marking and Stamping Weights and Measures T. Brewer .	309
An Account of Coins, &c., found in a Marsh contiguous to Newport, Isle of Wight E. Kell .	323
On the Field of Cuerdale T. Hugo .	330

CONTENTS.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS:—

Thomas Berthelet's Bill, as King's Printer, for Books Sold and Bound, 1541-43	F. H. Davis . . . } W. H. Black . . . }	44
Letters of Pope Innocent XI; Louis XIV; and the Countess of Montecucoli .	C. Lynch . . . }	336
Deeds relating to the Family of Giffard, in the possession of J. Hay, Esq. .	J. R. Planché . . . }	347
Proceedings of the Association	53, 138, 352, 369	
Annual General Meeting, Auditors' Report, Election of Officers and Council for 1852-3		78
Proceedings of the Congress held at Newark		243
Presents to the Association, 53, 63, 73, 138, 142, 145, 152, 155, 352, 353, 354, 369		
Index		378
List of Engravings and Wood-cuts		382
List of Associates, Local Members of Council, Foreign Members and Correspondents		383
Errata		377



Fig. 4.

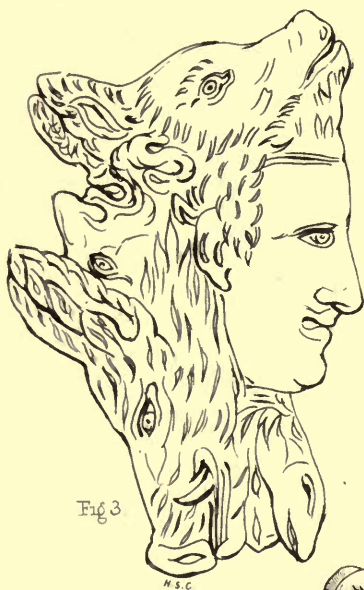


Fig. 3.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

GNOSTIC POLYCEPHALIC AMULETS.

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APRIL 1852.

ON THE POLYCEPHALIC AMULETS OF THE Gnostics.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ.

THE pantheons of Egypt, Assyria, and India, each abound with examples of parts of different creatures being so combined as to produce a new form; but it was reserved for the followers of Simon Magus¹ (those paganized Christians known as *Gnostics*,² *Basilidians*,³ *Valentinians*,⁴ *Ophites*,⁵ etc.) to blend and fuse, as it were, into one whole, various heads and portions of animals, so that each part possessed a double value, as presenting different forms

¹ Simon Magus, or the Magician, is said to have been a native of Samaria, where, it is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, c. viii, he "used sorcery, and bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that himself was some great one: to whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying, This man is the great power of God." He was, however, baptized by St. Philip; but offering money to the Apostles, that he might receive the Holy Ghost, he was rejected or excommunicated by St. Peter. He then exercised all his magic arts in order to seduce the people, and arriving in Rome in the reign of the emperor Claudius A.D. 41, he was looked upon as a God, and, according to Justin, a statue was decreed to him, inscribed "*Simoni Sancto*". There is a story that he was killed, by falling from the clouds, being cast down through the prayers of St. Peter.

² This sect derived their name from the Greek word *γινωσκω*, i. e., *to know*, because they pretended they were the only men who had a true knowledge of the Christian religion.

³ So called from *Basilides*, one of the chief leaders of the Egyptian Gnostics in the second century. According to Eusebius, he wrote twenty-four books upon the Gospel, and forged several prophets; to two of which he gave the names *Barcaba* and *Barcoph*.

⁴ So called from *Valentinus*, an Egyptian by birth, who being disappointed of a bishopric, separated from the Church; and embracing the Gnostic doctrines, founded a new sect in the reign of Adrian. He died about A.D. 160.

⁵ So called from the name of their chief god *ophis*, i. e., a serpent.

when viewed in different positions. These singular designs were wrought upon gems to be set in rings, and in stone, metal, ivory, and terra-cotta, to be carried about the person, or suspended in the dwellings as pantheic amulets, both to avert and cure divers diseases. Montfaucon collected no less than three hundred fac-similes of Gnostic charms of various descriptions.

The supreme god of the Gnostics was the solar divinity *Abraxas*,¹ whom they represented with the body and arms of a man, a cock's head, and for legs, two serpents with upreared heads. But they admitted into their pantheon the deities of older creeds than their own, compounding them anew after their distorted fancy. Thus we meet with Anubis and Mercury, Isis, Jupiter,² Diana, Hercules, and various other gods and goddesses, both alone, and mingled together in strange union. One fancy was to form a bird-like creature by combining together the head and neck of a horse, the head of a ram for the rump, and the pouting breast consisting of a human mask, the face of a person suffering under disease; the legs were those of the ibis. This bird was held sacred from the belief that it had suggested the glyster-pipe to man, having made use of its own curved bill for the purpose; and Dr. Walsh informs us that "the amulet of the ibis was used in different diseases, particularly against affections of the head". In most of the bird-shaped compounds we find the bust of a ram, which may possibly be typical of the zodiacal sign *Aries*, whose astral influence extended over the head. An oval gem of red cornelian, bearing the bird-shaped figure, is now exhibited. On each side of the horse's neck is a crescent and star; in front of the bearded mask of the sufferer is a palm branch, the symbol of fecundity; and beneath the ram's head is a small object which looks like a scarabæus.

Another gem of the same compound character is the famous one worn as an amulet against the disease called *elephantiasis*, in which the skin of the sufferer assumed somewhat the appearance of the skin of the elephant. The

¹ *Abrasax*, or *Abraxas*, was the same deity as *Mithras*; both their names in Greek characters express the number 365, the annual solar cycle.

² Simon Magus was represented by his disciples under the form of Jupiter. See Walsh's "Essay on Ancient Coins, Medals, and Gems, as illustrating the Progress of Christianity." London, 1828.

amulet considered efficacious in this distemper represents a union of three heads, one that of the afflicted individual, another, the aged face of Esculapius, with full beard, and the third, the head of an elephant, holding in its proboscis either a caduceus or a branch of cedar,—the juice of the bark of which, the Basilidian physician, Quintus Serenus Samonicus, says was a cure for the disease.¹ The snakes which intertwine the caduceus of Mercury and the staff of Esculapius were adopted by the Gnostics as the symbolic *icon* of the Redeemer, the primal idea being drawn from the brazen serpent which Moses “set upon a pole” in the wilderness, and which gave health to all who looked upon it; hence the appropriateness of placing the serpent upon a medical amulet. Other charms for the cure of *elephantiasis* represent a bird with its breast fashioned into the face of the sufferer, and its back into the head of the elephant.

Beger, in his account of the Brandenburg collection (iii, 421), has engraved a curious object compounded of the bust of a female, a bearded, cornuted Priapus, and the head of a boar. He considers this the handle of some instrument; but it is more probably the apex of a wand employed in some Gnostic ceremony.

The foregoing observations will enable us to better understand a few examples of polycephalic amulets which have been brought together for examination by the Association. The first specimen which claims our attention is one of complex design, consisting of six faces (pl. 1, fig. 1). We will begin with the head of the *ram*; next, we behold the profile of *Hygeia*, or *Salus*, with a pendant jewel in her ear. At the opposite extremity to the ram is a small bust, something like the emperor Nero with his full throat; this represents the party suffering under disease. Reverse this head, and we obtain the portraiture of *Silenus*, who wears an arched and lascivious expression of features. On the opposite side to *Hygeia*, the cornuted head of *Jupiter Ammon* makes its appearance; and reverse this, and we have the muscular form of *Hercules*, with his curled and bushy beard. This amulet is wrought out of a piece of *giallo antico*, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide; and

¹ Serenus flourished in the third century, and was put to death by order of Caracalla, A.D. 212.

though the more prominent parts of the features are injured, it is still sufficiently perfect to show, that when entire, it must have been a beautiful piece of sculpture. From its being flat at the back, it was probably once cemented to a tablet.

Our associate, F. H. Davis, esq., F.S.A., kindly lays before us a penta-cephalic amulet, admirably modelled in reddish-brown terra-cotta (fig. 2). The first head to notice is that of a beardless *Priapus*, whose horns are formed of two *dolphins*, their pectoral fins serving as side-locks to the head of the god. It will be remembered that the dolphin was a phallic emblem. The throat of the smiling *Priapus* is fashioned into a *lion's* mask. Next comes the head of a tusked *boar*; and reversing the object, we find the face of an individual in whose lineaments physical sufferings are palpably portrayed. In the mouth is placed a ring, produced by the union of the tails of the dolphins which serve as horns to *Priapus*, and which is probably intended to typify that the party is *shackled* or oppressed by disease. The head of the boar forms a high cap, somewhat like the Phrygian cap seen upon the figures of *Mithras*, *Atys*, *Paris*, etc. A fifth head (inserted between the dolphins, but omitted in the sketch) with its plump silly face, is a modern addition, and has nothing to do with the original design. It appears to have been inserted to fill up a vacancy occasioned by the loss of some other figure. Through the chin of the bust, which represents the afflicted person, has passed a metal loop, by which the amulet could be suspended round the neck, or hung up in the chamber of the sufferer. The specimen measures $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide; it has been much fractured, and has evidently lain for a long period in the earth, but nothing is known of its place of exhumation. Mr. Davis states that he purchased this amulet some ten or twelve years back in a curiosity shop in London.

An amulet, much like to that exhibited by Mr. Davis in general design, but differing in detail, is submitted to the Association by my friend Dr. Iliff (fig. 3). In it we find the profile of *Hygeia* or *Salus*, her head covered with that of an *ox*, and her throat fashioned into the head of a *serpent*, presenting at once an emblem of the goddess of health and of her father *Esculapius*. Next succeeds the head of

a large tusked *boar*, and when the object is turned, we discover the bearded wrinkled face of a diseased person under the influence of pain. This amulet is of bronze, nearly three inches long, by about two inches wide; flat at the back, and was once provided with a loop above the forehead of the ox, by which it could be suspended. If I may venture upon a date for this specimen, I should assign it to the middle of the sixteenth century, at which period the Paduan artists produced their exquisite forgeries of ancient medals.

Dr. Iliff also exhibits a beautiful tetra-cephalic amulet wrought out of white shell, and now cemented upon an oval piece of opal glass, and set in a finger ring (fig. 4). One bust is that of a *female*, capped with the head of a *ram*, the pelt of whose neck forms the bearded profile of *Esculapius*, and at the opposite extremity to the ram is the face of a person suffering under some malady. A bronze bulla, bearing a somewhat similar design to this amulet, is given in Beger's account of the Brandenburg collection, iii, 427; and in La Chausse's *Grand Cabinet Romain*, Amsterdam, 1706, p. 102, fig. 1.

The specimens which have now been laid before the Association furnish a fair sample of this curious class of objects: other varieties, however, are occasionally to be met with in collections, sometimes of a nature which will not permit of description. It is no easy matter to determine at what period some of these polycephalic amulets were wrought. It is certain that many are of ancient fabrication, but it is also certain that some are of mediæval workmanship. It is generally believed that the Gnostic heresy was extirpated by the arms of Diocletian about the commencement of the fourth century, but the German writer Von Hammer shows that it was not so, and labours to fasten the crime of gnosticism upon the order of Knight Templar. That the tenets of this corrupt and obscene sect existed long after the days of Diocletian is a fact not to be doubted. The name of Gnostic was annihilated, but the heretical venom which was elaborated by Simon Magus in the first century, was secretly imbibed by many in later ages: hence it is that we find the Gnostic amulets reproduced in Italy in almost, comparatively speaking, modern times.

The German opponents of the Romish Church issued, about the time of the meeting of the Council of Trent, in 1545, a number of satirical medals, in which they embodied the Gnostic idea of uniting the heads of two individuals into one design, substituting however for the gods of the Basilidians the dignitaries of the papacy, rendering their sarcasm doubly poignant by this significant hint that the heresies of Simon the sorcerer and the Roman pontiff were identical. The medals which were issued represent the combined forms of a cardinal and fool, and a bishop and a nun; a cardinal and bishop, and a king and a pope; a cardinal and fool, and the pope and the devil.

To the polycephalic amulets of the Gnostics may be traced not only the satirical productions of Germany, but the many ludicrous combinations which we frequently meet with in our own time, which require but to be turned to present an entire change of features. So late as 1850 appeared little toy-mugs with double-heads, on which, over a smiling countenance was inscribed "*Marriage Day*"; and above a frowning face, "*After Marriage*". Thus the ideas which owed their being in the mystic fancies of an obscene creed in Samaria eighteen centuries ago, have floated down the stream of time; and, divested of their lascivious character, still live in the playthings of our children.

ON EARLY CHURCH WINDOWS.

BY JOHN ADEY REPTON, ESQ.. F.S.A.

It is a common error to believe that the most ancient windows are those composed of only a single day, or light; for many without mullions may be found as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The small dimensions of windows has also been regarded as a proof of antiquity, without considering the respective purposes of such apertures, or the relative dimensions of the buildings to which they originally belonged.

Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 9

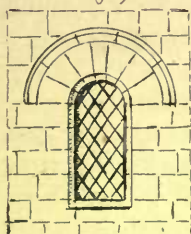


Fig. 4



Fig. 10

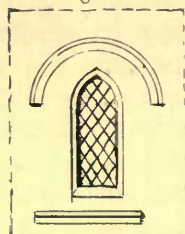


Fig. 5

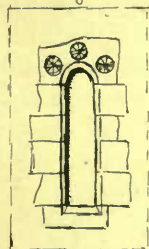


Fig. 7



Fig. 6

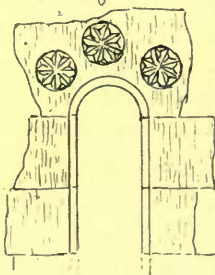


Fig. 11



Fig. 8

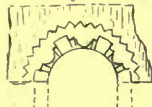


Fig. 12

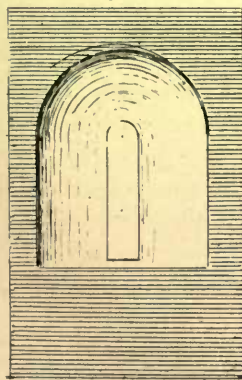


Fig. 13

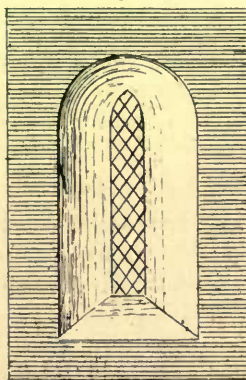
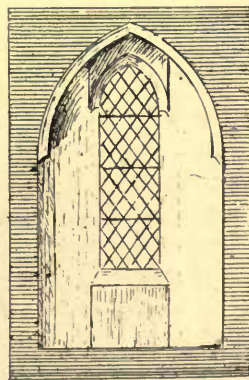


Fig. 14



In small village churches of early Norman architecture, the windows are remarkably small, being in some instances only round holes, seldom exceeding nine or ten inches in diameter, but splayed off internally to disperse the light. These may be found in some few churches still remaining in Norfolk. Plate 2, fig. 1, with the plan, fig. 2, is from Framlingham-Earl, near Norwich. The walls are constructed with flints, covered with cement; the rim, or upper part of the circle, is formed of bricks (taken probably from the Roman camp at Caistor). Fig. 3 is another specimen of a round window (not exceeding ten or eleven inches in diameter) from Hadiscoe in Norfolk, better executed than the former, having its circles composed of small pieces of stone.

These little circular windows were superseded by small semicircular-headed narrow windows, or rather loopholes, which seldom exceeded eight or ten inches wide, by three and a half, or four feet in height; examples may frequently be found, as at Witlingham, Ingworth, and Gillingham, in Norfolk; the latter is represented in fig. 4. The three windows in figs. 5, 6, 7, and 8, are from the east end of Darent church, in Kent. Such was the gloominess of the ancient churches thus lighted, that most of them were altered by the insertion of larger sized windows (while the small ones were still left); subsequently, during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and the sixteenth centuries, these new windows gave place to larger openings, divided by mullions. See fig. 9, from Sepulchre's church, Northampton; and fig. 10, from Tansor, in Northamptonshire.

On examination of the plans of these early windows, there appears reason to suspect that they had not originally any glass, as there is no rebate or groove for its insertion. Though the use of *glass* for windows was known in this country as early as the eighth or the ninth century, it does not follow that the openings in small churches were glazed before the reign of William Rufus.

At the time when the narrow windows (not exceeding ten inches wide) were used in small churches, windows of the same date, more than three feet wide, without mullions, were inserted in cathedrals and large churches and monastic buildings.

As a further proof that the smallness of the window is

no positive indication of its antiquity, we find that fig. 11, from Harlow church, in Essex (which is of the style and character of the sixteenth century), is not much larger than the specimens of the tenth and the eleventh centuries.

Figs. 12, 13, and 14, are from three small churches, nearly of the same magnitude, but of different dates. Fig. 12 is an example of Saxon or early Norman architecture. Fig. 13 is from St. Giles's, Cambridge, with a lancet arch of the date of Henry II. Fig. 14, a lancet window of the time of Henry III or Edward I.

It may not be irrelative to the foregoing subject if I notice the ancient cloisters of our cathedrals, the rich traceries of which, it is well known, were originally intended to be glazed; the lower part between the columns was exposed to the weather. But we frequently find these columns connected by an iron bar, and some have supposed these were inserted in order to add strength, and keep the columns in their places; but as we find these bars generally made with a hollow in the top of them, it is evident they were intended to receive glass, but as the wet got into these grooves and decayed the bars, they were ignorantly replaced by more solid ones, which instead of giving strength, were found to crack the stonework, and in Norwich cloisters they have lately been entirely removed. The great variety of tracery in these cloisters makes them an interesting study for the ecclesiologists; we trace their progress from Edward I until Henry VI; the latter, partaking of the perpendicular character, are strongly marked from those of the former.

At the cloisters at Westminster abbey, all the iron bars have been examined; and, in the tracery, which has been so beautifully restored by Mr. George Gilbert Scott, I am glad to find it is his intention to place glass according to the original design.

ON THE COINS OF CUNOBELINE, AND OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS.

PART XIV.

RESEARCHES RELATING TO THE COMMIOS FIRBOLG, OR ANCIENT
CONFEDERACY OF THE SOUTHERN BELGÆ OF BRITAIN;
AND RELATING TO THE ANCIENT BRITISH KINGS, EPPIL-
LUS AND VERICUS.

IN commencing this brief inquiry referring to one portion only of the Belgæ of Britain, no preliminary remark appears to be needed. It only seems required to say, that the Southern Belgæ, the Belgæ Proper, or Belgæ of Ptolemy, are ascertained to have been the last invasion of Belgic Gauls who passed over to this island. (See Cæsar's *Commentaries*, *Gaulish Wars*, ii, 4.) It pretty evidently appears that they never completely amalgamated with the other Belgæ, (*Gaulish Wars*, v, 9, 11,) who are supposed to have reached the island nearly two centuries before. The consequence seems to have been, that these Southern Belgæ continued to remain an independent people as long as they could; and we may here, by anticipation, say, that by the obvious tenour of such indications as we have, historical or monetary, that they seem, after a time, gradually to have been subdued by Cunobeline; and, subsequent to this, either to have become independent again, or to have rebelled in the latter part of his reign, or soon after, when Bericus or Vericus, their prince, fled to Claudius, the Roman emperor, and was the means of the Roman arms being turned upon Britain. But to proceed with allusions to them in Cæsar.

It is observable that this leader, in the two passages in which he directly mentions them, does not speak of them by their name Belgæ, though he specifically tells us that they came from Gallia Belgica, but in each case calls them the "Maritime States". He expressly tells us that, at the time of his invasions, there was war between Cassivelaunus, (who, we gather, was governing prince of several states

north of the Thames) and these said "Maritime States", or Belgæ; and from this we form an inference somewhat important to our purpose. If Cassivelaunus was at war with them in a body, then it of course implies that the Belgæ were confederate; and here is at once a good historical basis for the Belgic confederacy, traces of which are supposed to appear on ancient British coins.

An actual confederacy then may be inferred; and whether this confederacy was not called the "Commios Firbolg", after the example of the use of the former word among the Celts of the continent, and from the reputed use anciently of the latter word to imply the Belgian population, may, after former inquiries on the subject, be safely appealed to as a matter easy of decision.

When Cæsar landed in his first expedition, we may understand it was the confederacy of the Belgæ, the Commios Firbolg, that opposed him; and the princes of the several component states appear to have been those who are mentioned (*Gaulish Wars*, iv, 27) as coming into Cæsar's camp when the truce was made. In the second invasion, the Commios Firbolg were again beaten by Cæsar soon after his landing, and on being reinforced by the Trinobantes and Cassii, sustained a further discomfiture. Their princes now, as we gather from Cæsar's narrative, seem to have collected together in some part of Kent; for when Cæsar had advanced far up the country, Cassivelaunus, the British commander-in-chief, sent messengers to them to attack the naval camp of the Romans with all the forces they could collect. This they did, but with such bad success that they were defeated, and one of their leaders, Lugotorix, taken prisoner. This is the last mention we can ascribe to them in Cæsar.

We have adverted before to the circumstance that there appear indications that these Southern Belgæ came under the sway of Cunobeline, and after a time either recovered their liberty, or rebelled; and may proceed to illustrate these points as much as possible by numismatic evidence.

The first appearance of their commencing, or partial subjugation, is indicated by some coins of Cunobeline being inscribed with the name of one of their principal cities, Segontium, capital of the Segontiaci. This is the only Belgic town with which we have Cunobeline's name con-

nected with certainty, as we are not sure whether Solidunum, or Bath, which his coins likewise bear, was captured from them or from some other British state; that city lying on the north of the Avon, and not being included within the Wansdike boundary, which may inspire some doubt that it was a city of the Dobuni. Nor are we sure that the name Cunetio, a former town of Wiltshire, is certainly mentioned on his coins. (See vol. v of the *Journal* for 1849, p. 152.) As time proceeded, a coin of Calleva, a town of the Southern Belgæ, inscribed REX CALLE, appears assignable to Cunobeline's son, Caractacus, if certain fragments of an inscription on the other face be part of one of the legends thought to belong to him; and there appears a great degree of probability that such is the case.

To continue. Long before the conclusion of Cunobeline's reign there appear to be indications that the coinage of the Southern Belgæ had ceased, for an interval at least, as there are no coins, apparently, which we can assign to this period; but the various coins of Bericus, or Vericus, whose date we know from Dion Cassius, assure us that it must have been extensively resumed about thirty or forty years after the Christian era. We have thus a species of numismatic sketch of the Southern Belgæ, or Firbolgi of Britain, which appears sufficiently confirmed by the appearance of their coins; since those types of theirs inscribed EPPILLVS, EPPI, etc., approximate in their lettering to the Roman consular coins. Those inscribed VIR and VIRI have an appearance somewhat later, whilst the coins inscribed VERIC, etc., which we have supposed to have been coined after an interval in which there was no coinage, have broad and decidedly-formed letters of the age of Augustus and of Tiberius. Chronologically, besides, there seems the names of some monarchs wanting between EPPILLVS and VIRI, if this last be a man's name, and VERICVS. How far this may be supplied by future discoveries, it is not easy to say. Coins may possibly be found to apply to this intermediate part; but at present it seems a somewhat broken series, and to justify the view here taken of it.

But there are the coins inscribed TIN and TINC, in several varieties. These have every appearance of being of the reign of Tiberius, and of about even dates with those inscribed VERIC. In short, they do not appear to be the

intermediate ones required to fill up the gap to which allusion has been made.

These particulars, and this historical sketch of the Southern Belgæ of Britain, may be thought somewhat meagre and indefinite; but, strictly speaking, all is herein comprised that can be obtained from numismatical or other documents to the effect; more, indeed, than has been attempted elsewhere. We may now proceed to identify one of the British leaders mentioned by Cæsar with the Eppillus of the Britanno-Belgic coins, which also has not been done before; and afterwards to proceed with some particulars referring to Vericus, which it may be possible to ascertain.

Going back then, first, to somewhat early British times, (that is, to the state of Britain during Cæsar's second invasion,) we may revert to the orders sent by Cassivelaunus, the British commander-in-chief, to the four Belgic kings, to which we have before alluded, directing them to attack Cæsar's naval camp; and may now give, with advantage, these particulars in Cæsar's own words: "Cassivelaunus ad Cantium quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus quibus regionibus quatuor reges præerant Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segonax, nuncios mittit atque his imperat uti coactis omnibus copiis castra navalia de improviso adorianantur atque oppugnent. (*Gaulish Wars*, v, 22.)

This passage, it may be necessary to remark, is usually translated as if it were implied that Cæsar says that there were at that time four kings in Kent. Now that it should have been so, that there were actually four kings in so small a district as Kent, seems very improbable; and the greater likelihood seems to be, that in giving the rendering of the passage, we must understand the "quibus regionibus", not as referring to Kent solely, but to the "civitates maritimæ" spoken of before by Cæsar, of which Kent was one; and this is the more confirmed, as in a preceding chapter (14), he speaks of Kent, not as being composed of "regiones", but as constituting a single "regio". The true construction of the passage will then be as follows: "Cassivelaunus sends messengers to Kent, which, as we have shewn before, was one of the maritime states over which four kings presided, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax; and directs them that, collecting all

their forces together, they should suddenly assault and take the naval camp." This may be regarded as the true translation, and we may be able to assign the four kings to four Belgic states: the chief interest, of course, being the probable identification of the Eppillus of our ancient British coins with one of them.

Now the name Carvilius, according to all appearance, was the Celtic appellation, Gwayr-illil, or perhaps, Gway-wawr-illil; of which the first division is a personal name, the other a title, used, as has been observed on a former occasion, interchangeably with *rex* (see vol. vii of the *Journal* for 1851, p. 116); for which also we have the authority of the marquis de Lagoy (*ibid.*). With this, it is to be further observed that the celebrated Lelewel has given his opinion, in his *Type Gaulois*, p. 247, that this *illil* is only a form when used in composition, of the title *eppillus*, *i. e.*, hereditary king; which seems, indeed, a very correct conclusion. We may therefore safely adopt it, and we have at once the name we seek, Gwawr Eppillus, that is, Gwawr the hereditary king; and as his coins are only found in Kent, at least it seems so reputed, the seat of his kingdom is pretty readily ascertained.

We may by the way observe that, in the deductions thus obtained, we have a curious comment on the form of ancient British and Celtic names. It may almost be said that it is a matter of chance in what shape or guise they come down to us; or perhaps, more correctly to express it, that it depends on the medium through which we receive them. Take, for instance, this name of Eppillus, or rather, as we may now say, of the British chief, Gwawr, Cæsar's contemporary. Had his name come down to us by the ancient British chronicles, we should have known of him simply by this name. They would probably have styled him Gwayr, earl of Kent. Had he been mentioned in the *Saxon Chronicle*, we should have heard of him as Gwayr the earldorman; and in neither case should have had intimation of his other appellations. The fact, however, is, that being an hereditary prince, he styles himself Eppillus on his coins; and, being known, it seems, to the people of the country as "Gwayr the eppillus", or, in shorter form, as "Gwayr-illil", that modification of it becomes adopted by Cæsar, who hands it down in a Roman dress as Carvi-

lius. There might have been other titles and contingencies which might have obscured his real name. He might have been the Tascio, the Vertiscus, the Cingetorix, the Vercingetorix, the Ver-rix, according as the case may have been; and thus would have been verified M. A. Thierry's observation in his history of the Gauls, that, from his having titular designations, his real name might have never descended to us at all. Thus much we may say on this subject, which is, perhaps, not without some interest. We may now pass on to a brief remark on the other three leaders mentioned by Cæsar.

The kingdom of the next, Cingetorix, may have been the Regni. There is reason to suppose that this was called a kingdom before the Romans came (see vol. vii of the *Journal* for 1851, p. 406); and this person's name concluded with the word *rix*, or king.

In the like manner we may add that Segonax probably applied to the Segontiaci, a Belgic state on the Thames, as the termination of the name apparently expresses some title, though we may not be able duly to explain it. This leaves Taximagulus for Hampshire and Wiltshire, or the central part of these Belgæ.

Respecting Vericus, though so little is known of him, yet one or two remarks may be suggested in connexion with that title, and allusion may be made to one or two collateral circumstances which may possibly apply to him. We infer, with sufficient certainty, from Dion Cassius, that he lived in the latter part of Cunobeline's reign, and in the reign of the sons of Cunobeline. One of the first particulars we have to mention of him is his name, which, as has been observed on former occasions, has every appearance of being titular. "Ver rix", in Celtic, would imply high king; or perhaps as may more closely express the idea intended, "king paramount". Now duly to explain this. Vericus being king of the Southern Belgæ, a point sufficiently confirmed by his coins being found in the part of the island which they occupied, and these Belgæ consisting of several minor states, as the Belgæ of Hampshire and Wiltshire, the Cantii, Regni, and Durotriges; and as to make a distinction between being king of one of the tribes, and being king of them collectively, would have been necessary,—bearing this in mind, we need not doubt

the evident import of the etymology and form of the name, which we must interpret as before said, as conveying the idea of a paramount jurisdiction. We may therefore obtain an historical as well as etymological datum from this form of it, which brings to our notice one more fact connected with him.

His appellation then, as we thus find, being titular, some endeavour may be made to ascertain his personal name, in which a considerable degree of success may possibly be attainable. Some have supposed him to be the same person as Adminius, Cunobeline's son ; but though there be one point of resemblance, that both fled to the Romans, and though there may be an impracticability of demonstrating to the contrary, that they are not identical, yet otherwise the probability is so small as not to be worth attention. But it seems far more consistent, that Vericus was the Lilius Hamo of the chronicles ; and to shew this, we may recite the leading particulars which are professed to be given of this personage, omitting the more diffuse parts of the account, and more especially those which the more strikingly wear the complexion of romance. Lilius Hamo, whose name is declared to be British (*Geoffrey of Monmouth*), but who is a Roman (*ibid.*, and *Tysilio*), and had associated much with the British hostages at Rome, by which means he had learned the British language (*Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and *Tysilio*), is described as having advised Claudius to undertake the British war (*Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and *Gervaise of Tilbury*). He lands at Portchester with the Roman army, is instrumental in killing the British king in a battle, and is himself killed shortly afterwards at Southampton (*Tysilio*, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and *Gervaise of Tilbury*), which thence is named from him (*ibid.*).

It is difficult to resist the conviction, but that we have, in this narrative supplied by the chronicles, a distorted account of the latter part of the career of Vericus. The British chronicles are history mixed up usually with a large infusion of romance. The real matters of fact that we have to look to in the account, are, that a person with the British name of Lilius Hamo, who had advised the Roman emperor to undertake the war, landed with the emperor's forces at Portchester, and was killed in one of the battles which took place shortly afterwards.

This account corresponds too closely, in several particulars, with Vericus, to be considered wholly fiction. Besides, there is a corroboration or two. Geoffrey of Monmouth pronounces his name to be British, and so it is; though even Cambrian scholars have tried to Latinize it (see Roberts' *Tysilio*, 4to., 1811, p. 85). Amwn is a name known in British annals in the sixth century (see Williams' *Eminent Welchmen*), and Lilius is our title *illil* again, suggested by Lelewel in the passage we have before cited, as equivalent to REX, and which has done so much service in identifying the Eppillus of British coins with one of the ancient kings of the island mentioned by Julius Cæsar in his *Commentaries*. Only here the supposed *illil* precedes the personal name, while in all other known cases it follows after. And why not? Euphony might have been the cause. The structure of the word Amwn is such, that this consideration may have been best consulted by the title preceding; and we find that the cognate title, *rex*, came indifferently either before or after personal names. There should be then no difficulty in this, and Amwn, or Vericus, may the rather have preferred the title *illil* to *rex*, as implying hereditary right. Thus etymology comes powerfully to aid; and as we hear nothing of Vericus in the remaining books of Tacitus, as we do of Cogidubnus; and, indeed, as this last was appointed king by the Romans to the very territories which, it appears, had been those of Vericus, there is the greater probability that the account in the chronicles is true, that he, described there as the *illil* Amwn, or Amwn the king, was killed in the early part of the Roman invasion; that is, in the year of the Christian era 43.

There is yet one more particular connected with the account in the chronicles. These all declare that Southampton was named after Amwn, or Vericus; and Gervaise of Tilbury further adds, that Northampton was named after him too (see the *Chronicle* of Gervaise of Tilbury, as printed in Roberts' *Tysilio*, p. 234). But in neither instance is there the slightest probability of the fact, as the names of both those places have most certainly, topographically, other derivations. Another town in that quarter, however, may have been very probably named after this chief, Amwn, Bericus, or Vericus; that is, Caer Peris, the modern Portchester, where this leader landed. This Mr. Roberts

notices (*Chronicle of Tysilio*, p. 84). Singularly enough, the chronicles say nothing on this point; and it would seem a proof that none of the three chroniclers, Tysilio, Geoffrey, or Gervaise, were acquainted with the titular name of the personage to whom our observations now relate. It is not impossible that Tysilio, the earliest of them, might have found a statement that Port Peris was supposed to be named after the British chief, Amwn, and not being able to explain it, had transferred the tradition to another place in the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, after all, it is possible that both the traditions may have been current in Tysilio's time. E. Lhuyd, the antiquary, however, who notes that *Caer Peris* is Portchester, does not allude to its supposed derivation from the name *Bericus*; and in the Dublin edition of Nennius, from Erse manuscripts, the orthography is *Caer Pheus*.

Before concluding these observations, it may be noticed that, misled by the obvious titular import of the name *Vericus*, and the deceptive proximity of the legend *com. f.* to *Comius*, this title, *Vericus*, has been assigned to the *Comius* of *Cæsar* at a former page. This error is now sufficiently rectified; and this title, or addition, is now restored to *Amwn*, to whom it is due. *Amwn*, indeed, when accompanying his Roman friends in their invasion, seems to have been contented with the more modest title of *illl*, simply king; as his former title, *ver rix*, or high king, might perhaps have sounded too lofty in the ears of his new associates.

BEALE POSTE.

ON ANCIENT CHINESE VASES.

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THE ancient vases of China, particularly those bearing inscriptions, are worthy of the attention and investigation of the archæologist. They possess claims to our notice beyond that simply derivable from their antiquity, for they will be found, in many instances, to prove illustrative of the practices and customs of the Chinese, and also in themselves to exhibit designs of taste and elegance. Taken as a whole, however, they can scarcely be considered as fully entitled to this meed of praise, yet, in some particular examples, their claim to these qualities must be admitted.

We are indebted to the knowledge and industry of Mr. P. P. Thoms, whose attainments in the language and literature of China were such as to induce the Hon. East India Company to send him thither to conduct the printing of the Rev. Dr. Morrison's dictionary, for the notice of an ancient Chinese work entitled *Pò-koo-too*, from which he has, with much judgment, selected various specimens of vases, jugs, bottles, mirrors, etc., belonging to the SHANG, CHOW, and HAN dynasties, embracing a period of about 1,784 years B.C. The work alluded to¹ is said to consist of no less than nine hundred plates, offering a great variety of vases possessing different degrees of excellence. Of the SHANG dynasty, to which Mr. Thoms's illustrations are confined, and which extends from 1756 to 1113, B.C.—a period of 643 years, under twenty-eight successive sovereigns—there are specimens of *Ting* (vases), *Tsun* (wine

¹ See "A Dissertation on the Ancient Chinese Vases of the Shang Dynasty, from 1743 to 1496, B.C." By P. P. Thoms. London, 1851; 8vo. In the "Mémoires concernant l'Histoire, les Sciences, etc., des Chinois," by the missionaries of Pekin (tom. i, p. 56), it is said that the reigning emperor had engraved, in forty-two volumes, all the vases he could obtain; that among these the most ancient did not date prior to the dynasty of Shang; that they had but few characters, very difficult to decypher; that they threw no light upon history; but served only the purposes of the etymologists and the grammarians; and it is added, that these ancient vases had been imitated to deceive the curious.

jugs), *E* (large cups, or small basins), *Yew* (jugs for fragrant wine, having a handle extending over the mouth), *Hoo* (tea-pots, and also bottles for wine), *Tseö* (wine-vessels with three legs and a long lip), and *Tung* (small, slender vessels with wide mouths). Those belonging to the CHOW dynasty have frequently long inscriptions, and are also covered with various devices. The handles of sacred vessels, Mr. Thoms acquaints us, are ornamented with what may be termed the *lynx* head, and not unfrequently with only the *eyes*, admonitory of reverence in their use, and may be to the Chinese what we understand by the "*all-seeing eye*". But it is remarkable that, amidst these hundreds of representations afforded by the *Pö-koo-too*, there does not occur a single instance of a representation personifying a god; although a state religion—the worshipping of the great powers of heaven and earth—existed at this time, with much superstition, among the lower classes of the people.

From Chinese history it appears that there have been, at all times, and under all dynasties, individuals engaged in seeking for and preserving ancient objects. The celebrated minister, LIN-TZE, according to Confucius, distinguished himself by his antiquarian researches. Not less remarkable for zeal in obtaining specimens of interest or value, was the ambitious minister, TUNG-CHÖ (A.D. 200), who, when appointed governor of Mei-too, despatched emissaries throughout the empire to procure ancient vases and other articles of importance in the illustration of history, the arts, and manufactures.

But it is not only to so early a period that such researches have been confined; a similar spirit actuated the well-known YUEN-YUEN, the viceroy of Canton, who as recently as A.D. 1820 collected together a museum of antiquities, among which are most esteemed a variety of ancient inscriptions, particularly on bells and coins. Of these, the late viceroy published an account, and gave fac-similes of the inscriptions, by which it has been ascertained that the ancient and modern significations are often widely dissimilar to each other. The Chinese, however, are not all distinguished by so conservative a spirit, and it is on record that the tyrant TSIN-CHE HWANG-TE, who is renowned as the builder of the great wall of China, ordered all memorials of antiquity to be destroyed, and, like Omar the de-

stroyer of the celebrated Alexandrian library, all documents and books to be consigned to the flames. Various are the cruelties recorded of this tyrant, which he inflicted upon those who disobeyed his commands; many were imprisoned, and others buried alive. Expedients were consequently resorted to, to preserve the sacred vases, ancient works, and records of the HEA, SHANG, and CHOW dynasties. They were, in many instances, buried, and by this means concealed until the death of the tyrant, when they were exhumed, and brought forth to aid in the illustration of Chinese history. Mr. Thoms observes that, in the early periods of Chinese history, "a custom seems to have prevailed of interring with the dead honorary vases, which reposed with them for ages; but during the civil wars, more particularly that about A.D. 200, the graves of the ancient monarchs and eminent statesmen were dug up, and their ashes dispersed. Then were many of those ancient relics discovered, and a new order of things having been established, they have been preserved to the present period."¹ From this statement it would appear that the vases are entitled to consideration, if simply from their antiquity, that being a period of not less than 3,600 years. It is impossible, therefore, to look upon these relics without veneration, and at the same time admiration of the taste and symmetry by which many are distinguished. One of the most valuable considerations connected with them probably arises from the inscriptions found upon them, demonstrating, as they do, that the present Chinese character is derived from hieroglyphical representations. The representations are also to be regarded as symbolical, and convey to us some information as to the philosophy entertained by the Chinese. Thus those vessels which are of a round shape are called *Yang*, which literally means the male energy, the active principle; whilst those of a square form are denominated *Yin*, which signifies the female energy, or the passive principle. Vases with three feet have allusion to *Three kung*, or three stars, which preside over the prime ministers and people; those furnished with four are in honour of *Sze-foo*, or four higher civil officers.

¹ For particulars of the funeral ceremonies of the Chinese, see my "History of Egyptian Mummies," etc., chapter iii.—"On the Theology of the Ancient Egyptians, and Funeral Ceremonies of different Nations."

Again, the device of *Haou-t'een* on the vases, conveys an admonition against inordinate indulgence at the annual sacrifices; and those having *Yun-luy*, clouds and thunder, are conjectured to have been presented as rewards in acknowledgment of agricultural excellence. The words *New* (ox), *Yang* (sheep), *She* (hog), are regarded as having reference to particular attention in the rearing of those animals.

The larger vases are called *Nae*; the circular ones, *Tsae*; the sacred, *Shin*; and those most precious, *Paou*. The materials of which they are composed, are found to vary; those of iron having been given to the literati; those of fine copper, to the ministers of state; and those of gold belonging to the nobility, used by emperors, and indispensable in the performance of their rites when worshipping their ancestors. Mr. Thoms says that "the custom in remote times was, for the emperor, when worshipping, to use nine vessels; a noble, seven; a minister of state, five; and a literary person, three. In later periods, inferior vases have been made, and sent by the emperor to offending ministers, whose crimes were not considered as meriting death. On these, the character *K'een* (rectitude) was inscribed, to remind such persons how deficient they were in that noble quality." In the HIA, SHANG, and CHOW dynasties, but more particularly in the SHANG, it was a prevalent custom to make offerings to the gods, upon which was inscribed the character *Tsze* (son). Inscriptions were not, however, confined to the vases; the Chinese employed them on their mirrors, which consisted of various metals, and were highly polished.¹ Some of these are described as having inscriptions on the reverse side of the mirror, whilst others are ornamented with flowers and animals, and some present the *Füh-hés P'ä-kwa*, or cycle, and twelve animals, answering to our signs of the zodiac; but although the number is strictly maintained, the animals are frequently found to be of different kinds. One of these, by the kind-

¹ Some remarks on the Chinese *keen*, or mirrors of modern times, worthy of attention, will be found in this "Journal" (vol. v, p. 81), by Mr. H. Syer Cum-
ing, and in Dunn's "Chinese Collection" (Nos. 64, 164, 178, 751, twelfth edition
of the catalogue), which were considered as ancient specimens. Sir John Davis
has particularly described the mirrors in his work on the Chinese (vol. ii, p. 237),
and Sir David Brewster has satisfactorily explained their peculiar property in
reflecting images.

ness of Mr. Thoms, I am enabled to present to the reader (see plate 3). It represents the reverse side of a polished steel mirror. The centre represents the sun; the four animals around it are four of the planets. The next circle contains the *Pä-kwa*, or *Füh hës*, eight diagrams, by which he and his followers, as we are informed, attempt to account for all the changes and transmutations which take place in nature. The outer circle represents the twelve signs of the Chinese zodiac, with their names, and the times of their rising.

But to return to the vases. It is much to be regretted that Mr. Thoms's intention to depict the vases of each of the dynasties could not be carried out, as it would, among other things, have served to exhibit the changes which have been effected in the written character at various times; for it must not be disguised that considerable difference of opinion has been entertained by commentators as to the ancient signification of some of the characters, and also as to the date to which they have been respectively assigned. Mr. Thoms has, however, given several wood engravings, cut expressly for him by A-LÆ, a native of Canton, after the manner that blocks are cut for printing the Chinese works; and these, as specimens of Chinese art in woodcutting, were appropriately admitted into the Great Exhibition of 1851.¹

Of the vases of the SHANG dynasty, denominated *Ting*, the three following are excellent examples; see plates 4 and 5. No. 1 was of metal—an inferior gold; it was seven Chinese inches in height, in depth three inches, in circumference round the centre six inches, and it was capable of containing about one English pint. It weighed three pounds ten ounces Chinese weight, which is about equal to four pounds English, and the inscription engraved on it, according to Mr. Thoms's translation, reads thus: “During the twelfth month of the year *Käng-woo*, his majesty, in consequence of meritorious conduct, recorded the *Yew-she* officer of the fourth rank (who presided over the northern

¹ The mode in which this is effected is described as being done by holding a long sharp-pointed instrument, nearly perpendicular, in the right hand, and drawing its point towards the artist by the forefinger and thumb of the left hand, thus effecting the object with considerable celerity. I beg to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Thoms for his liberal permission to use these engravings as illustrations of this paper.

Chinese Zodiac.



The Class denominated 鼎 Ting.

I.

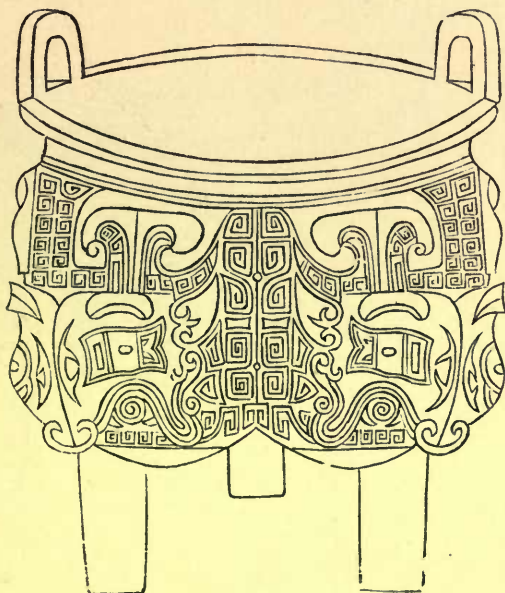


Fig. 1.

Ancient Inscription on the side of the Vase



Fig. 2.

Modern Form of the Characters contained in the Inscription.

庚午王命寢廟辰
見北田四品十二月作
冊友史錫賴貝
用作父乙尊。冊冊

II.

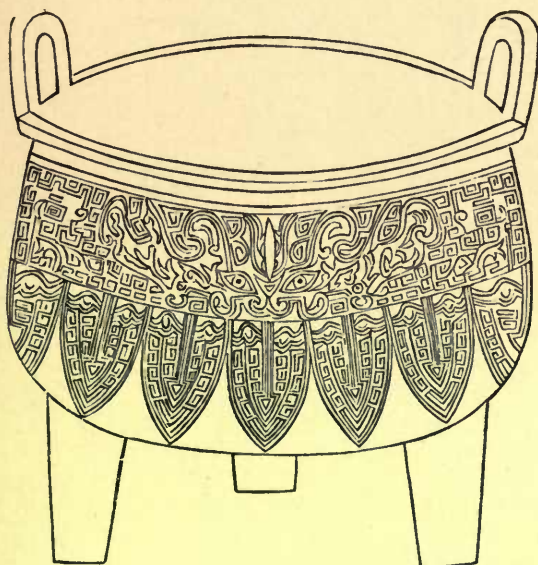


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

癸

III.

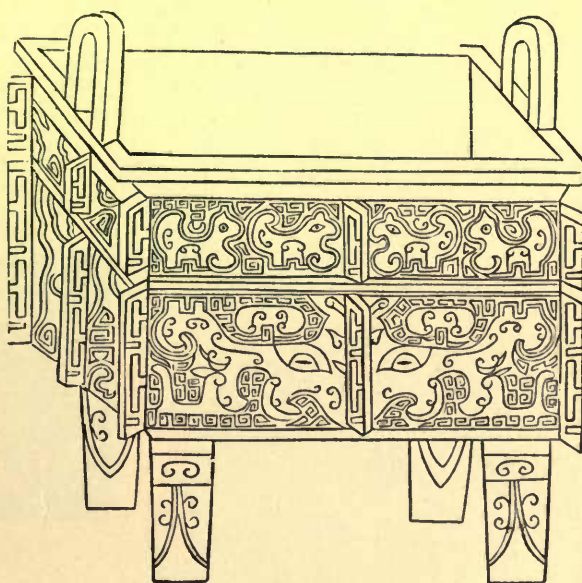


Fig. 3.



Wine Vessels denominated 尊 Tsun.

IV.

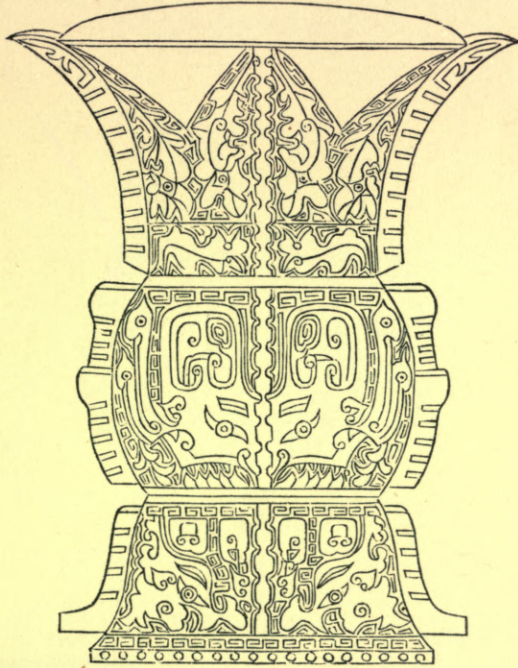
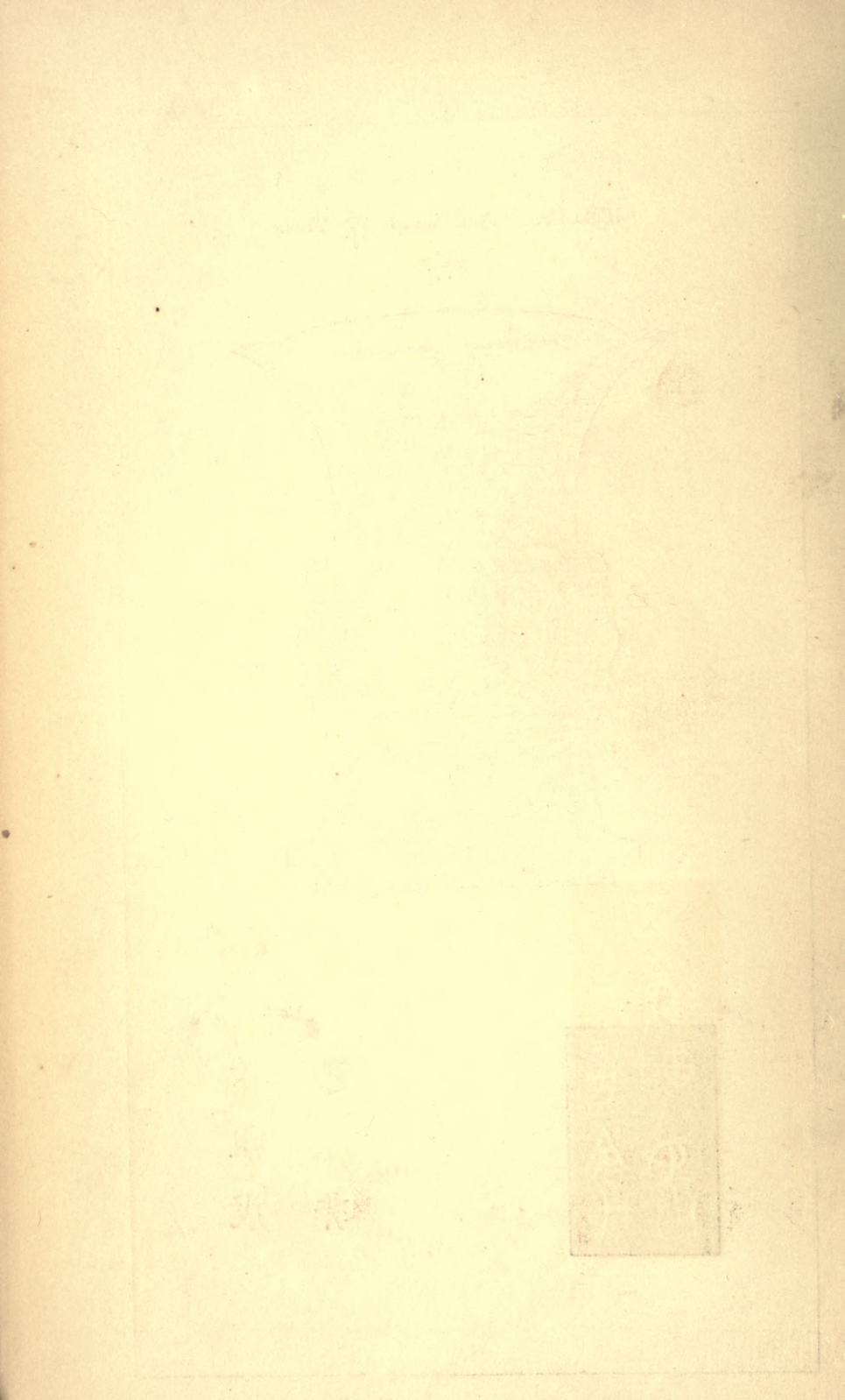


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

尊 作
彝 祖
戊



V.



Fig. 1.



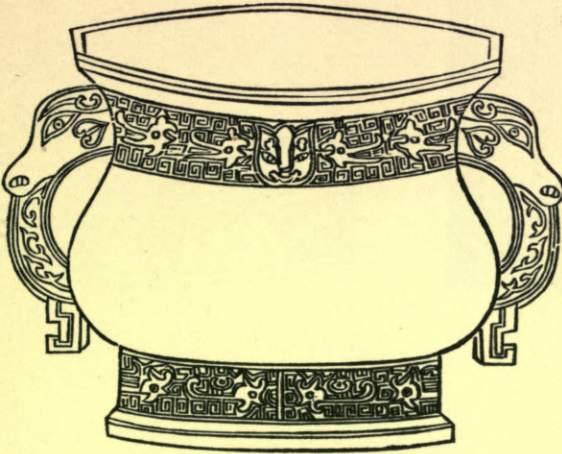
Fig. 2.

周
作父乙
戊
彝
蚩

The E 彝 Vessels, containing Water and the Fragrant Wine

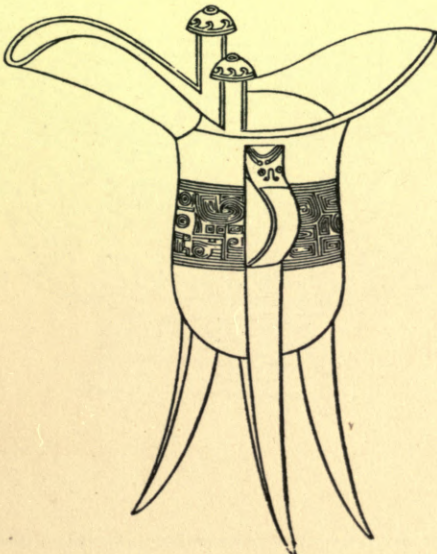
鬱鬯 Yü-chang.

VI.



The 爵 Tseō Vessels.

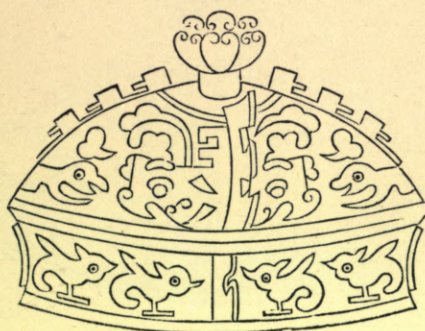
VII.

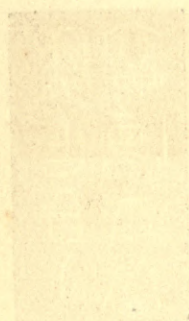


Vessels for containing Fragrant Wine, denominated 卣 Yew.

VIII.

Fig. 1.

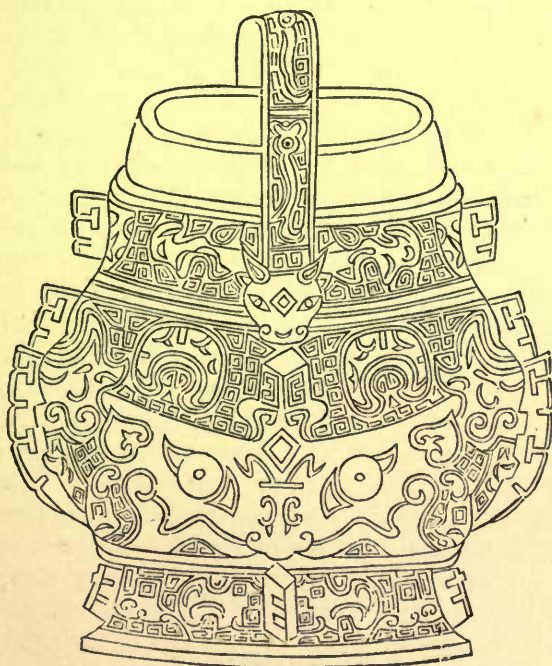




IX.



兕



agricultural department), and gave him this valuable vase, to be used when worshipping his ancestors." The ancient inscription on the side of the vase is represented on a black surface in fig. 1; the modern form of the characters fig. 2; and among the modern, a circle will be seen, which is there placed to denote an ancient character not at present understood. This vase dates 1496 B.C.

No. II is also a gold vase, capable of containing about a quart, and weighing nine Chinese pounds and twelve ounces. Upon it is engraved an astronomical character, termed *Kwei* (fig. 1; and modern form, fig. 2); and we have the authority of Mr. Thoms for saying that when that part of the heavens which *Kwei* describes approaches the *Chow* division, the fruits of the earth have arrived at maturity. This vase must therefore be regarded as one of those which were set apart for worshipping at the family altars, on account of a plentiful season of the fruits of the earth. It is conjectured to have been made for or by the order of CHING-TANG, who stands at the head of the SHANG dynasty, and whose reign, after a period of thirteen years, closed 1743 B.C.; its antiquity, therefore, must be at the least 3,594 years. But there are circumstances of interest which appear to be especially connected with this vase, for Chinese history acquaints us that during the reign of CHING-TANG there occurred a seven years' drought, at the close of which the prince repaired to the sacred mulberry-grove, where, after praying, he thus publicly interrogated himself:—Have I incautiously brought calamity on my people? Have I deprived my people of their rights? Have I squandered the revenue on my palaces? Have I added to the number of my concubines (in consequence of being emperor)? Have I viewed my subjects as though they were the grass of the field? or have I given place to sycophants?" Before his majesty had concluded this self-interrogation, it is said a heavy rain fell over a great part of the country. Mr. Thoms, therefore, conjectures that a new vase was made to commemorate the event. Examination of this vase led Mr. Thoms to the particular observation of other vases, and he was surprised to find that most of them had something indicative of eyes, and from this he is led to conceive that he has discovered a symbol of the all-seeing eye, as before mentioned. This opinion appears

to me to be worthy of attention, particularly when it is considered that no ancient Chinese vase presents to us the personification of a god.

Of the square form with four feet, No. III is a good specimen. It measured seven Chinese inches, and weighed four Chinese pounds and one ounce. The first character in the inscription (fig. 3), which contains eleven characters, Mr. Thoms tell us gives the name CHAON-Foo, and is followed by *Shih* (a house), which on vases is understood in the sense of *Mou* (a temple). Hence it is inferred that this was a vessel used by the CHAON family, when worshipping in the temple of their ancestors. The antiquity of this vase dates 1743 B.C.

The class of vases denominated *Tsun* (wine jugs) were employed in sacrifices, and on these occasions two were commonly used to contain wine. No. IV, plate 6, measured eleven Chinese inches and seven-tenths, and had a depth of eight inches and six-tenths. It weighed eight pounds and five ounces Chinese. The inscription upon it, ancient and modern (figs. 1 and 2), is thus translated:—"This valuable vessel is made in honour of the ancestors of Mow." From the name, it is supposed to refer to the emperor TAE-MOW, who reigned 1552 B.C. It is unquestionably elegant in its proportions and arrangement.

No. V, pl. 7, represents another of the same class, but differing in form. Its antiquity is of the same period as the preceding, and, including its cover, measured six Chinese inches and two-tenths. It contained rather more than a pint, and weighed one Chinese pound and two ounces. The inscription, ancient and modern (figs. 1 and 2), which consists of eight characters, is thus rendered: "CHOW (the *Tae-sze*, officer) made this *Foo-yih*" (sacred vessel). The last character, Mr. Thoms says, is a hieroglyphical representation of the *Wei* animal, which is variously described; one reports it as a large animal resembling a rhinoceros; another, that it is a species of baboon, with a very long tail, with which it is capable of suspending itself from a tree,—in short, a prehensile monkey. The character *Woo*, on the cover, meaning "five", is considered to indicate the order in which the vessel was used. To the number "five" the Chinese pay great respect. It appears to exert more influence among them than any other; thus they have the

five great virtues: charity, justice, good manners, prudence, and fidelity. They have five domestic spirits, five elements, five primitive colours, five seasons of the year, over which preside the five spirits, five planets, five points of the compass, five sorts of earth, five precious stones, five degrees of punishment, five kinds of dress, etc.¹ When the emperor in person sacrificed, two of these vessels were required. The last character differs from the ancient form of *Hoo* (a tiger), the tail being of a curved form. I must not omit to mention that, during the SHANG dynasty, it was customary for the CHOW officer, four times a year, to sacrifice at the royal altars, and invoke blessings on the government and the people; and that, on these occasions, vessels were set apart, on which certain animals were depicted, in accordance with the season of the year.

The E vessels of the SHANG dynasty were for holding water and the fragrant wine. The example given in No. VI, plate 8, is supposed to have been used for sacred purposes. It dates 1627 B.C., but presents no inscription. It has the handles formed of the head of an animal known for its greedy appetite; hence this vase has been classed as having an admonitory design. There were several sovereigns in the SHANG dynasty who took the name of E, from whom these vessels derive their name.

No. VII, plate 8, is an elegant wine-vessel, seven Chinese inches in height, with three legs and a long lip, and is reported to have been used solely by the nobility and by the officiating officer, or emperor, to drink out of when sacrificing. It is a vessel of very great importance in the national rites; its service was required when worshipping the god of heaven, and the earth, spirits, and genii; also on ceremonial visits. The whole of this series of vessels, Mr. Thoms says, have a handle, with eyes thereon, as though looking at the worshipper. It belongs to the class denominated *Tseö*.

The class of vessels called *Yew*, for containing fragrant wine, presents specimens of various degrees of excellence. From the relief and form of the characters upon these vessels, they are considered as the most ancient. No. VIII, plate 9, conjectured to be not later than 1496 B.C., repre-

¹ See "Hist. Gén. de la Chine."

sents one of these with its cover. It measured twelve Chinese inches and four-tenths in height; its depth was seven inches and five-tenths; the length of the neck, four inches and eight-tenths; that of the body, eight inches and six-tenths; and the circumference, seven inches and two-tenths. In weight, nine Chinese pounds and twelve ounces. The inscription (fig. 1) exhibits an excellent illustration of the pictorial character of the language. The moderns read it *Sun, tsö Tsoo-yih paou tsun e*: "the descendants made this beautiful (or valuable) vessel in veneration of their ancestor, Tsoo-YIH." Mr. Thoms observes that, from the form of the first ancient character, a hand grasping a missile weapon, this vessel has been denominated the *Che-taou*, "grasping a knife vessel." The emperor Tsoo-YIH reigned 1496 B.C., and was the son of Ho-TAN-KEÄ; who, owing to great inundations, removed his court to *Ho-chung-foo*, in Honan province. The compilers of the *Pö-koo-too* here remark, that the ancient forms of *Sun* almost invariably represent it as grasping a weapon, which restricts its meaning to that of a son or grandson.

I shall close this brief paper by noticing another vase of the *Yew* kind, of an elaborate design (No. ix, plate 10), having on the vase, and also on the cover, the representation of a rhinoceros. This vessel measured thirteen inches in height, and weighed ten pounds Chinese, and ten ounces. In reference to the rhinoceros, Mr. Thoms quotes a passage from the *Lem-yu*, which says: "a tiger and a rhinoceros, on escaping from confinement, are known not to be docile animals, but destroyers of mankind"; and, after remarking that the ancients used a cup made of the horn of a rhinoceros to drink out of, as a forfeit or punishment, acquaints us that SHE-KING, in denouncing the crimes of one of the ancient ministers, says, "give him (the transgressor) a rhinoceros cup!" This account of the rhinoceros-horn cup is at variance with all others, inasmuch as, from all the histories or statements I have been able to meet with, valuable qualities have been very generally attributed to its use. Those who were habituated to drink out of the cups manufactured of this horn, were considered as safe against attacks of spasm and epilepsy; and, should any poisonous matter have been conveyed into them, it is reported that they would immediately afford evidence of the same, though

it must be admitted this statement is undeserving of credit. The drinking of water out of the rhinoceros-horn cup was regarded as subversive of the effects of poison, should it have been administered. It is worthy of remark, that there is scarcely a portion of this animal that has not been employed medicinally, which, perhaps, may account for the selection of it as the crest of the Company of Apothecaries. The horns have always been esteemed, particularly those of the virgin female, called *abbada*; and cups formed of them have been very generally supposed to be possessed of the power of communicating virtue to the liquor which may be contained in them.

Du Halde, in his *Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary* (vol. i, p. 120), says, under the account of *Quang-si*, province 13, "this country breeds parrots, porcupines, and rhinoceroses." Sir John Davis says the one-horned rhinoceros of Asia is found in the forests of the extreme west and south; and that the horn is sometimes converted, by carving and polishing, into a sort of cup, the root, or point of junction with the nose, being hollowed out, while the summit of the horn serves as the pedestal or handle. He considers the notice of its being a charm against poison to have been imported, probably, by the Mongols from India.

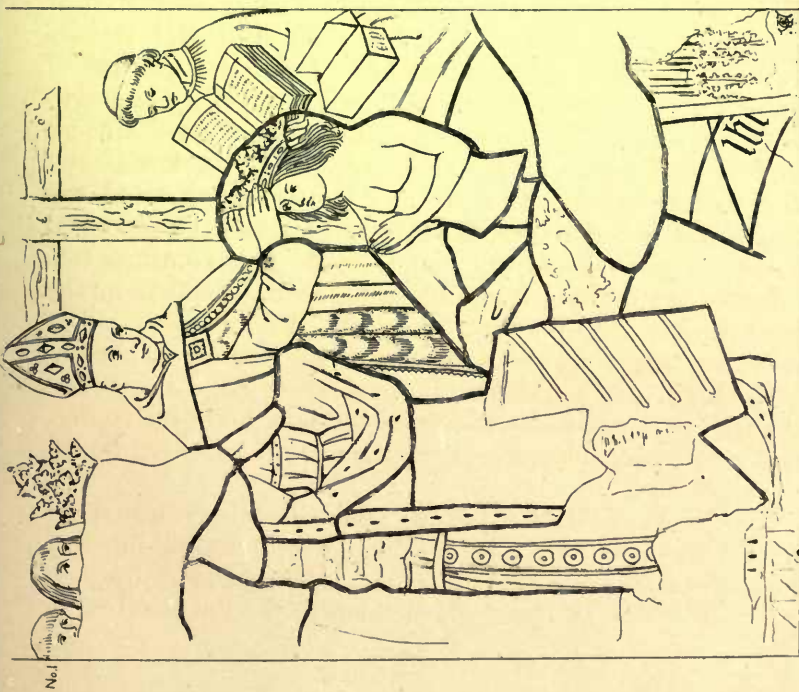
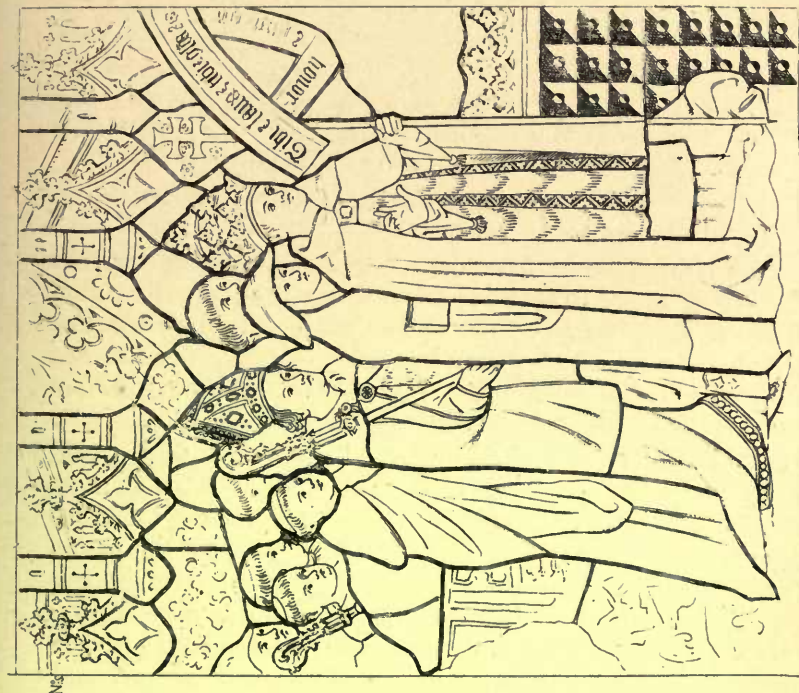
In conclusion, I beg to remark that I have thought the subject of ancient Chinese vases worthy the notice of the British Archæological Association, particularly as I believe, with the exception of Mr. Thoms, no Chinese scholar or student has turned his attention to the investigation of them; nor do I know of other works in which any representation of them is given.

ON ANCIENT PAINTED GLASS IN MORLEY CHURCH.

BY J. GREEN WALLER, ESQ.

REMAINS of ancient painted glass in this country, in any thing like a good state of preservation, are about the rarest of medieval objects. Where the hand of the iconoclast of the seventeenth century has been sparing, neglect has been equally, or even more, destructive. At one period, nothing was thought worthy of preservation, except it was a material that could not be dispensed with; and if, by accident, pieces of a painted window fell out from their places in the design, it was scarcely thought worth the trouble to replace them in the original position, but to poke them into the cavity in the easiest way, was the most recognized custom. And this was not always entrusted even to the rude, but still mechanical, hand of the village glazier, but the gap was stopped up anyhow, by anybody, and by the aid of any material; so that it is not unfrequently the case, that a window has had its repairs assisted by great lumps of mortar. But if any portion of the glass was actually destroyed, pieces of plain glass supplied its place; for no one imagined such a possibility as that of restoration. It is, however, well that it was so; and to this circumstance we owe the preservation of the fragments, in some kind of integrity, for had the unskilful hands of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attempted restoration, it would certainly have ended in the total destruction of all our remains. In the present day, a better spirit of preservation and restoration is abroad, and, happily, it is guided by some knowledge and taste; though, perhaps, some of the latter may be questionable, and may be considered as sometimes carried beyond legitimate bounds.

The glass at Morley has all been carefully restored by Mr. Warrington, and of the difficulty of his task one may judge from the loose and unconnected fragments into which the whole was thrown; the evidence of which exists in

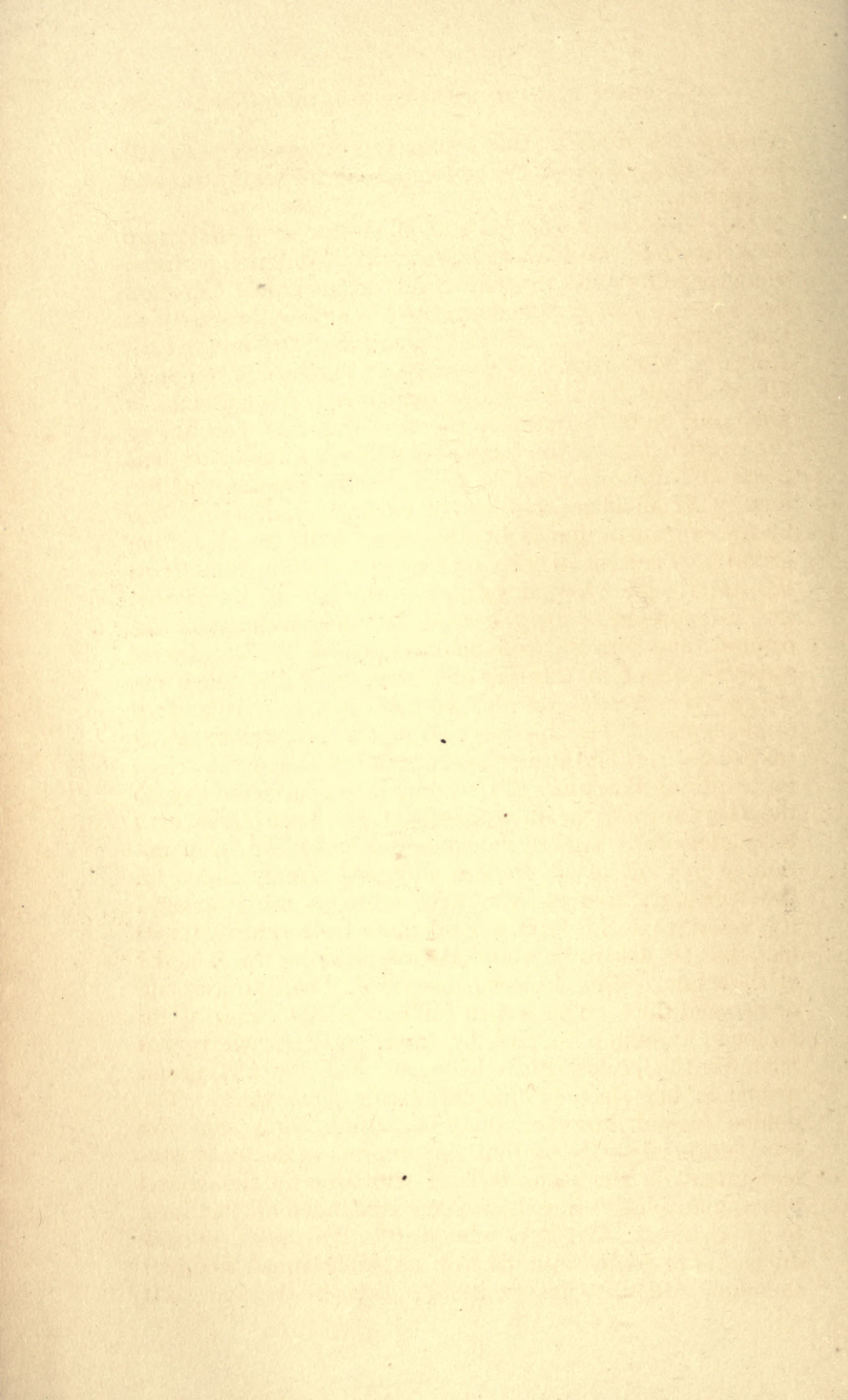


PAINTED GLASS IN MORLEY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.





PAINTED GLASS IN MORLEY CHURCH, DERBYSHIRE.



tracings, taken before that event, now in possession of the Rev. S. Fox, to whom we are indebted for their use and inspection.

The subjects of the glass at Morley were of that rare kind illustrating legendary history, which suffered, perhaps, more than any other from the hands of fanaticism. Enough has been preserved to make up two complete series,—viz., that of the history of the Holy Cross, and the story of St. Robert. The history of the cross is told in ten subjects, all of which have labels, on which are inscriptions, to point out and distinguish them. The first consists of the construction of the cross, and shews a number of artificers at that work: one is employed in shaping out the form with an adze, another in boring a hole, while the master-workman stands by directing; tools lie about the ground. Underneath this was written,—“*Sanctam crucis fecerunt.*” The second subject is the act of crucifixion, and is represented by the cross laid horizontally on the ground, and our Saviour bound upon it, whilst miscreants are about to transfix him with the nails, which are shewn in a basket on the ground, together with other implements: it has this inscription, “*Super crucem strictus est ihc̄.*” The third represents the burial of the cross; for cardinal Baronius affirms that it was a custom with the Jews to inter the instruments of his punishment with the malefactor. This is plausible, but looks like an invention to get rid of an obvious difficulty; and, moreover, the legendary writers, who have quite as much authority, assert that the Jews hid the cross in the earth from a fear that its discovery would be attended by the downfall of their law. This subject is inscribed, “*Sancta crux sub terrâ conditur.*” The fourth subject is the vision of St. Helena; it being asserted by some, amongst whom was Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, that she was admonished in her sleep to undertake this pious work. The golden legend, however, does not allude to it; but the latter authority tells us that the empress came to Jerusalem intent on the pious task of searching for the sacred places and relics. She, however, commanded all the Jews to be gathered together, who were admonished by one Judas not to discover the place of its concealment, and they therefore refused to answer the questions of Helena. But

the empress commanding that they should forthwith be cast into fire, in fear they referred her to Judas, to whom she proffered the alternative of death or life ; either to discover the burial place of the cross, or to die. He was then thrown into a dry well, and, after he had remained there for six days, he requested to be drawn out, promising to discover the place of its concealment. Which having done, the empress went and prayed, saying, " O God, shew to me the wood of the true cross"; and when she had prayed thus, the place was suddenly moved, and aromatic perfumes of a wonderful odour were perceived ; so that Judas applauded with both his hands, and said, " In truth, O Christ, thou art the Saviour of the world !" After this, Judas girded himself, and dug strenuously for twenty paces deep, finding three crosses, which the queen immediately carried away. In this is contained the fourth and fifth subjects, the former having inscribed, "*Sancta Helena per somnium crucem vidit*"; to the fifth, "*Sanctam crucem inveniunt*." The sixth subject consisted of the testing the crosses, in order to discover which was that on which the Saviour suffered ; and about the ninth hour the body of a young man, dead, was brought, and Judas held the bier ; and having tried the effect of laying the two first crosses on the body without any effect, when he came to the third, the defunct immediately returned to life. It is said that the devil, in the air, called out, saying, " O Judas, what hast thou done ? thou art a traitor !" The devil continued his maledictions, but Judas heeded them not, but retorted, saying, " May Christ condemn thee to the abyss of eternal fire !" After this, Judas was baptised, and became ordained bishop of Jerusalem, in place of one then deceased, and he was named Quiriacus. Under this subject is written, "*Demonēs fecerunt ululatum in aere*," and this was terribly mutilated.

The next, and seventh subject, has reference to a more advanced period in the history of the true cross ; for it is said that Helena, after the discovery, caused part of it to be enclosed in a silver case, which part was left at Jerusalem, for the honour of the Christian world. In the year 615, says the legendary, God permitted his people to be scourged by the Pagans. Cosdroas, or Chosroes, king of the Persians, subjugated all the kingdoms of the earth to

his impious rule. But coming to Jerusalem, to the sepulchre of the Lord, he was terrified by omens, and returned, taking with him, however, that part of the cross St. Helena had left there; and everywhere he destroyed the churches of Christ. Then Heraclius assembled a large army, and went against the son of Chosroes, who dwelt near the river Danube. It was agreed that a single combat should decide the question, and that the victor should have the command of both armies. The victory was adjudged to Heraclius; the whole army submitted to him, and all the people of Chosroes became Christians, and were baptized. Chosroes himself was ignorant of these events, and was so hated that no one told him. So that, the war ended, Heraclius came to Chosroes, and found him seated upon a golden throne; and saying to him, that if he would honour the holy cross, and be baptized, he would obtain his life and kingdom, but if not, his sword should strike off his head. The Persian king refused, and his head was immediately struck off. This subject is indicated by the legend, "*Heraclius fidem Chosroi obtulit.*" In this the emperor, who is in all the groups wearing a triple crown, was represented with the cross in one hand, and a sword in the other, before the Persian king, of whose figure but a few fragments are left. To the next compartment there were two inscriptions, viz., "*Hic Eraclius baptizavit suum filium juniorem*"; and, "*Eraclius filium Chosrois baptizavit.*" They both refer to the same event; for after the death of the Persian king, the emperor found his son, aged ten years, whom he took to the sacred font, and baptized him. This forms the eighth subject.¹ The ninth represented the emperor taking the cross in triumph to Jerusalem; and it is reported that, being about to enter the gates from the Mount of Olives, through which our Lord passed, being on horseback, and regally apparelled, the stones of the gateway immediately fell down, and, like a wall, closed the way up. And the angel of the Lord, holding the sign of the cross, appeared above the gate, saying, "When the king of heaven passed through this door to his passion, not with royal habit, but sitting upon a lowly ass, he left an example of humility to his worshippers;"

¹ See plate 11, fig. 1.

and thus saying, the angel departed. Then the emperor descended, suffused with tears, and divested himself of every thing even to his shirt, and taking the cross in his hands, humbly carried it to the gate, and presently the hardness of the stones felt the celestial command, and opened a free way of entrance; and the sweet odour, which, whilst in the hands of the pagans, had ceased, began again to be emitted. The inscription under the representation of this part was, "Sanctam crucem in Hierosolymam portavit." The tenth and last subject from this history, is "the exaltation of the cross," an important feast of the Romish Church, which was instituted in memory of the recovery of the holy cross, and in gratitude for the numerous miracles manifested by it. The inscription to this subject is "Sancta crucis exaltatio 8 kal. Oct.", and it represents a number of figures in adoration of the cross.

The next series of subjects belong to a portion of the life of St. Robert, not contained in the usual sources for the legendary lives of the saints, and probably but traditions of a local character; they merely refer to the mode of life in which the saint lived. St. Robert was born in the province of York, and became a monk in the monastery at Whitby, but on the foundation of the abbey of Fountains, was made its abbot. He was a man of great austerity, and the present series of subjects seem to indicate a passage in his life in illustration of his manners. Ashmole, who saw Morley church in 1662, describes the glass when in a more perfect state; and his manuscript, now in the Ashmolean museum, gives the legend thus: "St. Robert of Dale Abbey had sustained damage by the deer from a neighbouring park, on his grounds; to rid himself of this annoyance, he shot some of them, for which he was summoned before the king. After a hearing and appeal, the saint was finally ordered to take as much land as he could plough over, or round (like Dido at Carthage), in a day." The series of subjects have reference only to this story. The first is St. Robert shooting the deer, and the inscription, in the vernacular, points out the story in this and the following instances. "St. Robert shooteth the deere eetyng his corne." 2. Keepers complaining to the king: "whereof the keepers complayn to

the kynge." 3. St. Robert complains also to the king: "here he complayneth hym to the kynge,"—who is made to answer, "Go whom and pin them," alluding to the deer. 4 is indicated thus: "St. Robert catchyth the deere." In the 5th he appears to be ordered before the king: "Bid hym come to me." In the 6th compartment, the king is shewn as giving him the ground, saying, "Go ye whom, and yolke them, and take ye ground y^t ye plode."¹ In the next, 7, St. Robert is ploughing with the deer: "St. Robert plooth with the deere." This is the last of this curious series, and is less mutilated than the other, perhaps on account of its subject being less objectionable. The story is invariably told with great simplicity, and the style of the glass is of a good period, about the middle of the fifteenth century. These two series occupy two windows on the north side of the north aisle, near its most western extremity, and the next window to them. In the east window of the north aisle are figures of the Virgin Mary and the child Jesus; the latter holding a little bird in his hand: St. Ursula, represented with small female figures of the Virgins on each side of her, angels above, and an inscription, "St. Ursula cum XI. M. Virginum ascendens in cœlum": and St. Mary Magdalen holding the box of spike-nard. Besides these, are three subjects of the triumph of the church militant, represented by ecclesiastics of the different orders, led by the pope, adoring; there are labels, on which are written, "Tibi laus, tibi gloria":¹ the eleven apostles, with the legend, "Te decet laus et honor d'ne"; and thirteen figures of martyrs, some crowned, and singing, with these words, "In semper eterna secula beata." In the south aisle are the figures of St. Elizabeth and St. Peter; St. Roger, a saint whose effigy is very rarely found: and William, archbishop of York; and St. John, prior of Bridlington: all these are distinguished by the names inscribed. In another compartment are introduced the four Evangelists, with their several emblems.

Out of the mass of materials jumbled together, examples the most complete have been selected for illustration; but it must be understood they cannot be considered as facsimile representations, but as merely giving some idea of the nature of their curious designs; and it is greatly to be

¹ These form the two subjects of plate 12.

commended, that they have been so valued and cared for as to have been thought worth a complete restoration. It may be observed, that this is recorded by an inscription running thus: "These ancient windows were brought, by Francis Pole, from the abbey of Dale, after its destruction in A.D. 1539, and were restored by Wm. Warrington, London, for Thomas Osborne Bateman, in the year A.D. 1847. Samuel Fox, M.A., rector." The subjects selected for illustration (see plates 11 and 12), are those that were least mutilated. Plate 11 contains the baptism of the son of Chosroes, which exhibits a good idea of the disjointed fragments into which the glass was divided. Of this subject, the officiating bishop is the least mutilated part; but nothing but the triple crown of the emperor remains, though that of the child is well preserved, and also a portion of the acolyte, holding the book of offices. The second subject on the same plate, is a portion of that of the triumph of the church. The intention of the design, the figures of the pontiff and prelates, are very clearly made out. The pope has the triple crown, and bears the double crozier; a cardinal is behind, then follows a bishop, with monks, etc. Plate 12 contains two subjects illustrative of St. Robert's story, as before referred to. The story in each is very intelligible, and seems not to have received any mutilation but that of accident and time. The figure of St. Robert, in the second subject, is the most complete of any in the series.

Note by H. Duesbury, esq. :—

Not only was the glass above described removed from Dale Abbey to Morley, but, a more unusual circumstance, the stone-work in which it is fixed was brought with it, and rebuilt at the east end of the south aisle of the church. A careful examination of the church further shews that other portions of the structure are the spoils of the old abbey. This is particularly to be seen in portions of the roof where the carved beams have been shortened to make them fit, and in the north-west porch, which is made up of fragments not originally so applied; the caps do not fit the columns, which are too large, and evidently once belonged to some more important part of a building,—possibly the piers of a choir or nave. It may also be stated, that such fragments as could not be "brought in" at Morley, were taken to Radbourn church, and there used. These are some of the "evils that (archæological) flesh is heir to", and are well calculated to confound the most sagacious antiquary, or the most plausible conjecture. I remember being once desperately puzzled. There is a fine Norman side porch to the church at Castle Ashby, in Northamptonshire, but not a vestige of Norman in any other portion of the church, which was of the fifteenth century; and I could not persuade myself that the church had absolutely been built to the porch. I set to work to dig down to the foundations of the porch, and thus solved the mystery. The church stands in the park, close to the mansion (Castle Ashby), which was rebuilt by William first earl of Northampton, about the time of Elizabeth. The porch had evidently been brought from somewhere, and put up at this time, since, in the foundations of the Norman porch, I found some waste lengths of Elizabethan mullions, which had been worked, but were not required.

ON THE TENTH ITER OF ANTONINUS.

BY JOHN JUST, ESQ.

THE topography of Roman Britain is, in general, tolerably well known. The sites of the Roman stations, and the traces of the Roman military roads, have, in most places, been surely indicated by the Roman remains, and the investigations which, from time to time, have taken place. Fosses and ramparts mark the former, and fragments of Roman pottery, Roman coins, and sacrificial relics, scattered within and around the same, prove the Roman occupation; while raised ridges, aggers, paved causeways, and *débris* of the gravelly substrata, ever and anon appear on the lines of the Roman military roads, to shew their courses evidently and certainly. Thus a part of the Roman history of this country is drawn out in legible lines, as a kind of plan, or mapping, on the ground. Added to this, certain documents still exist to point out the directions the roads took, and to acquaint us with the names of the Roman towns and fortifications situated upon or near them. Nevertheless, here and there are parts so obscure in the directions left us of the lines of certain roads, and the stations connected with them, that nothing but actual investigation of the one, and impartial comparison with the other, can lead to any satisfactory result, or entitle descriptions thereof to be considered as authentic history.

Lines of Roman roads are undeniable proofs of Roman intercourse and occupation. Alone, however, they shew nothing more; they tell no tale about the Roman stations. This we have, most fortunately, in the itinerary, or "Way Books", which the Roman writers have left for us; so that with the lines of Roman roads remaining for our inspection on the ground, and the names of the stations upon such lines, with the respective distances between them, we have the means of deducing correct conclusions. Where both agree, such conclusions are fact and certainty; where, however, these differ, the remains on the ground are more

direct evidences, and serve more towards ascertaining the truth, than the documents themselves; because those could not very well suffer from the errors of any transcribers.

No line of Roman road in England, perhaps, differs so much from the "Way Book", as that given in the tenth of Antoninus' *Itinerary*; and no line, perhaps, affords more conclusive tests and decisive evidence on the ground than it does. Within north Cheshire, throughout Lancashire, and nearly the entire length of Westmoreland, the writer of this paper has travelled over every inch of the ground; and he can vouch that the evidences of no Roman military road he has seen at any time, on any other line of Roman road, are more distinct and satisfactory in their indications.

The chief difficulties at present connected with this iter, are at the extremities. We know not with certainty where the iter begins, nor where it ends. According to Wesseling's edition of Antoninus' *Itinerary* (Amst. 1735), the tenth iter stands thus: "A Glanoventa Mediolano, M.P., CL, *sic*; Galava, M.P., XVIII; Alone, XII; Galacum, XIX; Bremetonacis, XXVII; Coccio, XX; Mancunio, XVIII; Condate, XVIII; Mediolano, XVIII." Here the sum total of the iter is 101 Roman miles, as stated, between the termini. Adding together the several distances between the stations, as given in the items, the amount is 149 Roman miles. The one is hence no check upon the other. There is either an error in the entire distance given at the commencement of the iter, or in the details. We can, however, easily see, that if we conceive the numerals at the beginning of the iter to have been falsely transcribed by the copyist, by his substituting an I for an L (a very possible mistake), the whole distance, CL, would be 150 Roman miles, corresponding, with one mile difference only, with the sum of the several distances.

Where is "Glanoventa"? we would first inquire, before we begin to grapple with these discrepancies. Various opinions have been given about its site. Camden says, vol. iii, p. 496, Gough's edition, 1806, that "Glanoventa" was situated on the river Wentsbecke, in Northumberland, but merely on conjecture, from the similarity in the sounds. Stukely fixes the station at Castlesheils, by Cambeck;¹ Horsley,

¹ Gibson, 1069.

ultimately at Lanchester, in the county of Durham;¹ and others at Caervorran, on the Picts' wall.

Glanoventa does not occur in any other Iter of Antoninus' work. It is mentioned in the *Notitia*, or station-book of the troops within Roman Britain and elsewhere, and is given as being not "per lineam valli", or forming one of the stations on the wall, but as "ad lineam valli", in the proximity of the wall. This station was garrisoned by the first cohort of the Morini.²

"Galava" comes as the next station southward on Antoninus's line. Two like conjectures have been offered for the site of this station; the one by Horsley, and the other by Gale—that Oldtown in Northumberland was the place.

"Alone" follows. Camden places "Alone" at Whitley Castle, in Cumberland. He mentions an inscription found there, stating that the 3rd cohort of Nervians garrisoned the spot. This accords with the account in the *Notitia*; so that if the "Alione" of the latter, and the "Alone" of Antoninus be hereby identified, we should obtain a fixed point, on which we might rely in tracing southward the remaining portion of the Iter.³ Horsley agrees with Camden. If the inscription could now be seen, the conclusion would be rendered most satisfactory.

Another document, beside the one of Antoninus', compiled by Richard, a monk of Cirencester, professes to be derived from authentic sources, and sometimes throws light upon the lines of Antoninus. Many antiquaries question its authenticity; yet, as it gives lines of Roman military roads, not mentioned by Antoninus, and such military roads can be easily and satisfactorily traced out, it would be more sceptical than useful to reject its accounts altogether. Richard's Iters are sometimes parallel with Antoninus's. In his 10th Iter Richard's account only falls in with Antoninus at "Alauna"; which, doubtlessly, corresponds with the "Alone" we are now in search after. Richard's Iter passes through Lugaballia, admitted to be Carlisle, through Brocavonacis, also said to be Brougham Castle, thence to "Alauna", which, according to the above statement, should be Whitley Castle. Whitley Castle

¹ Gibson, iii, 449.

³ P. 550.

² Cam., vol. iii, p. 496.

⁴ Vol. iii, p. 430.

can only be connected with Richard's station at Brougham Castle, through Kirkby Thore, and along the Maiden way thence over Cross Fell; a most irregular and improbable circuitous route, carrying us even backward. Such a circumbendibus would never do; and Richard's evidence, if to be taken, goes quite contrary to Camden's supposition.

Richard's line is quite satisfactory, both in remains and in the distance between Luguballia and Brocavonacis. Brocavonacis occurs in Antoninus's 2nd Iter as Brovonacis, as also Luguballio for Luguballia. In Antoninus's 5th Iter, again, in the contrary direction, the two places are mentioned as Luguballio and Brocavo, having the like distance between them, as inserted in Richard's Iter. Antoninus takes his line in the 2nd Iter through Voreda, between the two places, and the distance is thereby altered. A part of Richard's line thus corresponds with Antoninus' two lines in the portions just given; but, following neither line farther, it falls in with the 10th of Antoninus, if not assuredly at "Alone", most assuredly so at "Coccium", or the place which is most commonly considered to be the modern Ribchester.

A portion of the military way from Brocovonacis, or Brocovo, to Verteris, we have investigated. No Roman line of road we ever trode is more evident and satisfactory. We will not at present vouch that it passes through or in the immediate vicinity of the Roman station at Kirkby Thore; but, one day, we hope we may be justified in doing so. The mystery must be cleared up. The key is on the ground yet, which, when found and taken up, and properly applied, will unlock the dungeon doors, and let the light of day into this labyrinth of obscurity. Kirkby Thore we have lately visited. Camden makes it the next station to Whitley Castle, southward on the line, the Galacum of the Itinerary. Horsley considers Appleby as the site of Galacum. The station at Kirkby Thore has been an adopted one. Unlike that at Brougham Castle, with which it agrees in size, it is situated on a knoll or eminence, having the rivulet of Troutbeck flowing in front of it, at about sixty paces towards the east, and the irregular outlines of the ground, with its escarpment on the north, serves as its boundary in that direction. The double foss, and the rampart on the western side, have

wholly disappeared; and none but the practised eye could, with certainty, point out the lines of ground in which they formerly ran. An antiquary could not step on the ground without feeling it to be classical. His eyes would detect the pillage of many a chequered stone in the buildings of the village, and many that Roman tools had squared. Still, nothing of the station remains above ground; though the inhabitants tell you of vaults and subterraneous passages below the soil, and talk of its vast importance in days of yore. The area of the station intersects the village, the houses being situated to the north and to the south of the outworks of the encampment. Down to the bridge, across the Troutbeck, foundations of walls, etc., have from time to time been discovered, and coins and other traces of Roman occupation. In building the present bridge, during the year 1838, one of the richest discoveries ever made in England took place. Within the channel of the stream, and more towards the opposite side to Kirkby Thore, a vast number of Roman coins, silver and brass, Roman fibulæ, bronze greyhounds, Roman styles, golden bracelets, pins, intaglios, etc., etc., together with an immense number of small implements, in brass and iron, embedded in a kind of clayey cement, were dug up while sinking for the foundation of the abutment of the bridge. Most of these are in the possession of John Crosby, jun., esq., banker, at Kirkby Thore; and most likely an account, from him, of the discovery, with a detailed description of the several parts of the find, and illustrated with drawings, will be got up for the Archæological Association. No further notice, therefore, seems to be needed in the present paper. Camden mentions an inscription as being found at this place, and other antiquaries other relics, proving the importance of the station.¹

Without presuming to assign a name to the station, in absence of all testimony whence a decision could be derived, all we have to notice is, that Kirkby Thore is upon the line of the Roman military road, known as the Maiden way, and running up through the station at Whitley Castle to *Caer Vorrán*, on the wall. The military road of the 2nd and 5th *Itinera* of Antoninus, seems to intersect this line of road to the north at right angles, making the

¹ Hors. 85.

station to be connected with the roads to the north, and that also to the south east. Yet the name of the station at Kirkby Thore is omitted in both the Itinera first mentioned. We could not learn that any indications of a Roman military road were known from Kirkby Thore southward, as a continuation of the Maiden way, though then, and still we surmise, such a road did exist, and that ere our investigations are ended, we shall connect, satisfactorily, the Maiden way with the southern portion of Antoninus's 10th Iter. Camden suspected this; and his sagacity has seldom been surpassed.¹

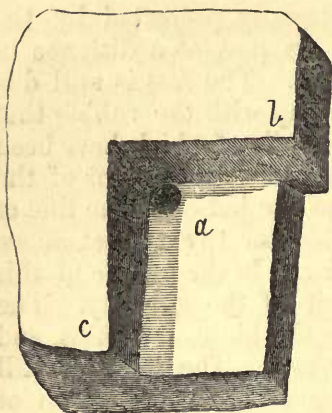
Our next station in coming southward brings into a district well known and repeatedly examined by us. This station is situated at Low Borrow Bridge, and though hinted at by Dr. Whitaker in his *History of Richmondshire*, and mentioned in Nicholson's *Westmorland*, and some other ephemeral productions, it entirely escaped the notice of the elder antiquaries. A recent visit enabled me to extend my knowledge of the line of the military road considerably beyond the station pointing directly towards Kirkby Thore, from which Bremetonacis is distant twenty-seven Roman miles (admitting Kirkby Thore to be the Galacum of the 10th Iter, and the Gallagum of Ptolemy). But Bremetonaci has been referred to the next station further southward, at Overbarrow, in Lancashire. According to modern views, therefore, the station at Borrow Bridge remains to the present day without any definite and duly ascertained name. Distance, however, here seems to be set at defiance; for, from inspection of a good map of Westmorland, the interval between Kirkby Thore and Borrow Bridge appears not more than seventeen Roman miles. A detailed account of this station hence may be deemed a desideratum by the body of British Antiquaries.

The site of the station at Borrow Bridge is well chosen, according to the Roman theory of castrametation. It stands at the junction of the rivulet Borrow (whence it takes its modern name), and the fine stream of the river Lune, having a sufficient extent of low alluvial ground connected with it to supply forage for the use of the station. Its form is an exact parallelogram of 130 Roman paces by 100: it hence occupies an area of nearly four

¹ iii, p. 400.

acres. The northern side is strongly protected by the stream of the Borrow, which flows past at a distance of about eighty or one hundred yards. The foss is still distinguishable, though partly filled up with the rubble that has fallen from the rampart, the walls of which have been reduced to the level of the ground in the interior of the station; though a ridge along the site indicates the line of their direction, and which is fifteen or twenty feet above the ground surface of the exterior. In the middle of this line is yet evident the situation of the gateway. The western side of the station faces the high mountains, and has been protected by a double foss. The inner is still well marked and defined, being of the usual width of twelve feet. The Lancaster and Carlisle Railway has cut off an angle of the outer foss. The vallum along this side is still eight or nine feet high. The ashlar work, or facing stones, have been all removed, leaving the grouted interior exposed to the eye. The site of the Prætorian gate in the middle is very evident. Thirty years ago courses of the ashlar work were to be seen; but the wall has been frequently quarried for various purposes since. In the inside the débris of the wall still stand, from ten to twelve feet high, forming even in ruins an immense rampart, and showing how strongly this portion of the station had been fortified.

The stones of the grouted mass are the common or silurian slate of the district. The southern site has been stripped of its wall. The foss is still faintly visible, the embankment yet high, and the gateway slightly indicated in the middle. The inn at the station and the entire stonework of the out-buildings have been removed from this side; and chequered stones, though now whitewashed over, show how the Romans ornamented their walls, where the locality prevented them from using tiles. The high precipitous bank of the river here forms a strong protecting barrier on the eastern side. There has therefore been no foss here, as the distance between the rampart and the bank is not more than from twenty to thirty yards. The site of the Decuman gateway is very evident, corresponding exactly with the opening of the Prætorian gate on the opposite side. Here is the only visible section of the wall, —which has been from six to seven feet in thickness,—the



a, Socket-hole, into which the iron bolt of the gate turned; b and c, post cut away at right-angles to prevent the gate from opening or shutting too far.

course of the gateway on the northern side being exposed. The only Roman curiosity now above ground is to be seen here. Mr. Noble, the present host of the comfortable inn, uncovered the basement stone on one side of the gateway, into which the bolt of the hinge of the gate had been inserted. The stone shews this appearance.

The opposite side of the gateway was not disturbed, and doubtlessly a similar stone lies buried there beneath the ruins. During the dry summer of 1826, one part of the field within the area of the station, to the north of the "via principalis" which crossed the station, was observed to be burnt up in curious zigzag lines. Mr. Noble had the curiosity to dig down in one place to see the reason. He uncovered a flue, as he called it, a part of the hypocausts situated beneath the floors of the houses, to supply such warmth within as might enable the delicate-bred natives of southern Europe, Asiatics, or Africans, to pass comfortably the severe winters of the British climate.

In the garden adjoining the inn, some few years ago, a silver denarius was dug up; but has been taken away by some one assuredly not belonging to the family of the *Justs*.¹ While digging a drain across the highway in front of the inn, a quantity of Roman pottery was discovered, consisting of the lip and handle of an amphora; the rims of two small dark-coloured vessels; the bottom of a pitcher; half a dozen fragments of common red Roman ware; and two pieces of Samian ware: the one—with a most elegant female figure upon it—may still be seen at the inn. In the garden, also, are two Roman querns, dug up by the excavators of the railway, about three miles to the southward, in some of the boggy ground, not far from the line of the Roman military road. To the north of the station are the remains of the abutment of a bridge across

¹ A silver denarius has been found by Mr. Noble since this paper was penned.

the Borrow, supposed to be Roman, a part of the grouting of the bridge still adhering to the rock of the foundation, spite of the floods of fourteen centuries. The Roman road is visible just beyond this bridge; and, though lost for a considerable distance beyond this point, directs itself towards Kirkby Thore, as we hope soon to determine.

It seems likely that future investigations will disturb the whole arrangements of the stations southward, except that of Mancunium or Manchester. It is almost certain that the military road of the tenth iter ran up to the Picts' wall at Caer Vorrán—the Magna of the *Notitia*. On the line hence are the station of Whitley Castle, Kirkby Thore, Borrow Bridge, Overborrow, Ribchester, Manchester, and those of Condate and Mediolanum. This line of road, also, is connected with Chester, and it would seem was intended to be a medium of intercourse for the cohorts of the twentieth legion—stationed at the Caerlegionis, or Chester—as such might be wanted to garrison the stations on the wall. Similarly the line of military road in the second and fifth itinera of Antoninus, from or through York, was intended to bring thence the cohorts of the sixth legion to the wall, as well as the other lines radiating from York, and running either up to the wall, or passing northward through it. Such a series of stations, on the indubitable evidence of the military road, would strongly tend to place the stations thus: Glanoventa at Whitley Castle, Galava at Kirkby Thore, Alone at Borrow Bridge, Galacum at Overborrow; and, relinquishing the line of road over the mountains of Botton Head and Crossdale, for the more passable line through Lancaster, Bremetonaci would be at Lancaster, and Coccium at Ribchester, etc. If we adhere to the line of the military road, then we want a station either between Overborrow and Ribchester, or between Ribchester and Manchester. Some moderns, on the authority of one of the inscriptions discovered at Ribchester, remove Bremetonaci to that place and Coccium, hence the stumbling-block of the Whitakers is left a stumbling-block still, to excite the zeal of future antiquaries. Time, we trust, will shortly tell; and our next paper on this subject, we hope, will at least give a true and just account of the line of direction of the entire iter, as it remains written on the ground by the hands of the Roman legionaries.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. I.

THOMAS BERTHELET'S BILL, AS KING'S PRINTER, FOR BOOKS SOLD AND BOUND, AND FOR STATUTES AND PROCLAMATIONS FURNISHED TO THE GOVERNMENT IN 1541-43.

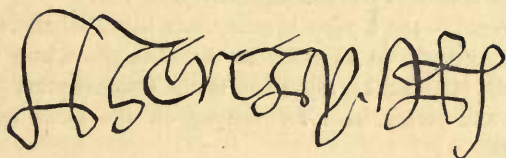
THIS document is a schedule, in the form of a small quarto book of twelve leaves of paper, annexed to a parchment warrant under the royal sign manual of Henry VIII, directing payment thereof to be made by the treasurer of the Court of Augmentations. The schedule is written by the same hand as the warrant; but on the latter is a receipt or discharge, written by Berthelet himself, 29 September, 35 Hen. VIII [1543], four days after the date of the warrant.

The reader cannot fail to notice how numerous copies of biblical and theological books occur, as provided or bound for the king; among the former are the New Testament, printed in English and Latin; and among the latter, the commentaries of the king's "favorite author", Thomas Aquinas; and the *Institution of a Christian Man*. The prices and bindings of these various works are highly interesting.

Much of the bill relates to statutes and proclamations printed for the king. The statutes were, at that time, promulgated in the form of *proclamations*; and this ancient practice is not a little illustrated by the particular instances stated in Berthelet's bill. On this subject, the introduction to the authentic edition of the *Statutes of the Realm*, published by the Record Commissioners, may be consulted (chap. v, § 2), in the Appendix to which is given a list of old statutes printed by the several kings' printers, wherein Berthelet's name occurs almost constantly from 1509 to 1546.

In addition to the autographs of the king and his printer, the document bears the signature of Sir Thomas Audley, chancellor, at the end of the bill.

BY THE KING.



WE wolle and commaunde you that of suche our Treasour as in your handes remayneth ye doe ymedyatly upon the sighte herof pay or doe to be paide unto our trustie servaunte Thomas Berthelett our prynter the somme of one hundred seventene poundes sixe pence and one halfe-peny sterlyng. The whiche is due and owyng by us unto hym for certeyne parcelles delyvered by the seid Thomas unto us and other at our commaundement as in this booke, whereunto this our present warraunte is annexed particularly dothe appere. And these our lettres signed with our hande shalbe unto you a suffycient warraunte and discharge for the same. Yoven under our Signemanuell, at our Manour of Wodstooke, the xxiiijth of September, the xxxv yere of our reigne.

To our right trustie and righte welbeloved Sr Edward Northe, Knyghte, treasourer of thaugmentacions of the Revenues of our Crowne.

Receyved of sir Edward North, Knight, treasurer of the Augmentations, the sayd summe of one hundred seventene poundes vj. d. ob. according to the tenour of this warrant, the 29 day September. a^o. regni regis Henrici viij, xxxv.

Per me Thomam Bertheletum.

Per me Thomam Bertheletum.

Anno Domini 1541, et anno regni serenissimi et invictissimi Regis Henrici Octavi, Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Regis, fidei Defensoris, et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremi Capituli, tricesimo tercio.

In primis, delyvered to my Lorde Chauncellour, the ixth day of December, xxth Proclamacōns made for the enlargyng of Hatfeld Chace, printed in fyne velyme, at vj^d the pece. Summa, 10s.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xxx day of December, a Newe Testament in englisshe and latyn, of the largest volume, price 3s.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the vj day of January, a Psalter in englisshe and latyne, covered with crimoydyn satyne, 2s.

Item delyvered the same tyme, a Psalter, the Proverbes of Salomon, and other smalle bookes bounde together, price 16*d*.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, for a litle Psalter, takyng out of one booke and setting in an other in the same place, and for gorgious byndyng of the same booke, xij^d; and to the Goldesmythe, for taking of the claspes and corner, and for setting on the same ageyne, xvj^d. Summa 2*s*. 4*d*.

Item delyvered unto the Kinges hyghnes, the xv day of January, a New Testament in latyne, and a Psalter englysshe and latyne, bounde backe to backe, in white leather, gorgiously gilted on the leather; the bookes came to ij^s. the byndyng and arabaske drawyng in golde on the transfile, iiij^s. Summa 6*s*.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xvij day of January, a booke called *Enarraciones Evangeliorum Dominicalium*, bounde in crymosyn satyne; the price 3*s*. 4*d*.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hig[h]nes, the xxij day of January, a booke of the Psalter in englysshe and latyne, the price viij^d; and a booke entiteled *Enarraciones Evangeliorum Dominicalium*, the price xij^d; and for the gorgious byndyng of them, backe to backe, ij^s. iiij^d. Summa 5*s*.

Item delyvered to Maister Hynwisshe, to the Kinges use, a paper booke of vj queres royall, gorgiously bounde in leather, 7*s*. 6*d*.

Item delyvered to my Lorde Chauncellour, the xxv day of January, vj^c Proclamacions concernyng the Kinges stile; eche of them conteynyng one leafe of bastarde paper, at j^d. the pece. Summa 50*s*.

Item delyvered to my Lorde Chauncellour, the iiij day of February, vj^c. Proclamacions concernyng eatyng of whyte meates; eche of them conteynyng one hole leafe of Jene paper, at ob. the pece, 25*s*.

Item delyvered the xxvth day of February, to the Kinges hyghnes, *Ambrosius super epistolas sancti Pauli*, xx^d.

Item one Psalter in englysshe, in viij^o. xx^d. Item ij litle Psalters, xvj^d. Summa 4*s*. 8*d*.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the laste day of February, xij bookes intituled *Summaria [in] Evangelia et Epistolas ut leguntur*; ij bounde in paper bordes at viij^d. the pece, and x in forrelles, at vj^d. the pece, 6*s*. 4*d*.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the iiij day of Marche, one *Summaria in Evangelia et Epistolas*, gorgiously bounde, and gilte on the leather, price 2*s*.

Item delyvered the same day, ij bookes, intituled *Conciliaciones locorum Althemi*, price 4*s*.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the same day, one *Opus Zmagdi*, price 4*s*. 8*d*.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the vth day of Marche, one *Novum Testamentum*, bounde with a *Summaria*, price 2*s*.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the ix day of Marche, one *Novum Testamentum*, in latyne, bounde with a *Summaria super Epistolas et Evangelia*, 2s.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xij^t day of Marche, one *Autoritas allegabiles sacre scripture*, with one *Summaria in Evangelia et Epistolas*, gorgiously bounde in whyte, and gilte on the lether, iiij^s. Item, *Sedulius in Paulum*, at iiij^s. Item, *Petrus Lumberdus in Epistolas sancti Pauli*, at iiij^s. iiij^d. Item, *Homelie ven. Bede in Epistolas Dominicalis*, at xvjd. Item, *Questiones Hugonis super Epistolas sancti Pauli*, ij^s. Summa 13s. 8d.

Item delyvered to the Kinges Maiestie, the xv day of Marche, *Thomas de Aquino, in Evangelia Dominicalia, et Homelie Bede, una ligati cum alijs*; price 2s. 8d.

Item, *Psalterium* in latyne, and a Psalter in englishe, *una legati*; price 2s. 8d.

Item, *Arnobius super psalmos*, 2s.

Item, *Haymo super psalmos*, 2s.

Item, *Jo. de Turre-cremata super Evangelia*, 2s. 8d.

Item, *Omelia Haymonis super Evangelia*, 16d.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xvj day of Marche, one *Arnobius super Psalterium*, bounde with other bookes, 2s.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xvij day of Marche, one *Arnobius super Psalterium*, and one Psalter in englishe, price 2s. 8d.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xix day of Marche, *Homilie Bede hyemales*, bounde with his *Homilijs on the Pistles*, price 2s. 8d.

Item, *Homilie Bede aestivales*, bound alone, price 20d.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xxij day of Marche, *Homelie Bede pars estivalis*, bounde with his Homilies on the Epistoles, price 2s. 8d.

Item the same day, delyvered to his grace, *Enarraciones sancti Thome de Aquino super Evangelia*, bounde with *Homilijs Bede super Epistolas*, the price 2s. 8d.

Anno Domini 1542.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xxv^{ti} day of Marche, one Psalter in latyne of Colines printe, and one in englishe, bounde together; the price ij^s. viiij^d. Item, *Arnobius super Psalterium*, and a Psalter in englishe, bound together, price ij^s. viiij^d. Item, *San[c]tus Thomas de Aquino super Matheum*, the price ij^s. Summa 6s. 8d.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xxvij day of Marche, one *Cathena aurea divi Thome de Aquino in Evangelia Dominicalia*, price ij. iiij^d.

Item the same day, delyvered to his hyghnes, one *Postilla Guilielmi Par[is]iensis*, price ij^s. Summa 5s. 4d.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xxviiij day of Marche, one *Enarraciones sancti Thome de Aquino in Evangelia Dominicalia*, with *Homilijs ven. Bede in Epistolas ut per totum annum leguntur in templis*; price ij^s. viij^d. Item, *Psalterium* in latine, with *Arnobius super Psalmos*; the price ij^s. viij^d. Item, *Faber super Epistolas Catholicas*, the price xx^d. Item, *Dydimus Alexandrianus*, with Beda upon the *Epistolas Catholicas*, price ij^s. Item, one *Catanus super Evangelia*, price iij^s. iiij^d. Summa 12s.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xxx day of Marche, one *Cathena Aurea divi Thome super Evangelia in duobus*, price 5s.

Item delyvered the same day to his grace, one *Dionysius Carth.*; and a *Faber Stampe super Epistolas Catholicas*, price 3s.

Item delyvered the same day, one *Dydimus Alexandrinus*, and *Beda super Epistolas Catholicas*, price 2s.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the ij day of Aprill, one *Thomas de Aquino in Evangelia Dominicalia*, and *Beda super Epistolas*, bounde together, price 2s. 8d.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the same day, one *Homilie Johannis Chrysostomi in Matheum*, the price 2s.

Item, one *Homilie Jo. Chrysostomi in Johannem Marcum et Lucam*, price 2s. 4d.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the xj^t day of Aprill, *Dionysium Carthus. in Evang.* in viij, bounde in ij, price 5s.

Item delyvered the same day, to my Lorde Chauncellour of England, iij^c Proclamacions concernyng stealyng of haukes egges, and keypyng of soure haukes; eche conteynyng a leafe of basterde paper, at j^d the pece. Summa 35s.

Item delyvered to my Lorde Chauncellour, the xvj day of Aprill, iij^c Proclamacions concernyng stealing of haukes egges, and keypyng of soure haukes; eche of them conteynyng a hole leaffe of Jene paper, at ob. the pece. Summa 16s. 8d.

Item for iij^c of the same, that were new made ageyne, at ob. the pece. Summa 16s. 8d.

Item delyvered to my Lorde Chauncellour of England, the xx day of Aprill, all these Actes followyng, printed in Proclamacions; that is to wete, v^c of the Acte concernyng counterfeit lettres or privie tokens, to receyve money or goodes in other mens handes; eche of them conteynyng a leaffe of Jene paper, at ob. the pece, 20s. 10d.

Item delyvered v^c of the Actes concernyng bying of fische upon the see; eache of them conteynyng one hole leaffe of basterde paper, at j^d the pece. Summa 41s. 8d.

Item delyvered ij^c of the Acte concernyng foldyng of clothes in North Walles, eche of them conteynyng halfe a leaffe of basterde paper, at ob. the pece. Summa 8s. 4d.

Item v^c of the Acte concernyng pewterers; eche of them conteynyng one hole leaffe of basterde paper, at j^d ob. the pece. Summa 3*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Item c of the Acte concernyng kepyng of greate horsses; eche of them conteynyng ij hoolle leafes of basterde paper, at ij^d the pece. Summa 4*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte concernyng crossboues and hande gonnes; eche of them conteynyng iij holle leaves dim. of basterde paper, at iij^d ob the pece. Summa 7*l*. 5*s*. 10*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte concernyng the conveyaunce of brasse, latene, and bell mettall over the see; eche of them conteynyng one holle leafe of basterde paper, at j^d the pece. Summa. 41*s*. 8*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte ageynst conjuracions, witchecraftes, sorcery, and inchauntementes; eche of them conteynyng one holle leafe of Jene paper; at ob. the pece. Summa 20*s*. 10*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte for the mayntenaunce of artillarie, debarryng unlauffull games; eche of them conteynyng iij holle leaves of basterde paper, at iij^d the pece. Summa 8*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte concernyng the execucion of certeyne Statutes; eche of them conteynyng iij hoolle leaves dim. of basterde paper, at iij^d ob. the pece. Summa 7*l*. 5*s*. 10*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte for bouchers to selle at their libertie, by weyghte or otherwise; eche of them conteynyng one holle leafe of basterde paper, at 1^d the pece, 41*s*. 8*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte for murdre and malicius bloudshed within the Courte; each of them conteynyng iij hole leaves dim. of basterde paper, at iij^d ob. the pece. Summa 7*l*. 5*s*. 10*d*.

Item xij of the Acte concernyng certeyne Lordships, translated from the Countie of Denbigh to the Countie of Flynt; eche of them conteynyng one hoolle leaffe of basterde paper, at j^d the pece. Summa 12*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte concernyng false prophesies, upon declaracion of armes, names, or badges; eche of them conteynyng a dim. leafe of basterde paper, at ob. the pece, 20*s*. 10*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte concernyng the translation of the saynctuarie from Manchestere to Westechester; eche of them conteynyng one hoolle leaffe dim of basterde paper, at j^d ob. the pece. Summa 3*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte for worsted yarne in Northefolke; eche of them conteynyng a hoolle leaffe of basterde paper, at j^d the pece. Summa 41*s*. 8*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte for confirmacion and continuacion of certeyne Actes; eche of them conteynyng one hoolle leafe of basterde paper, at j^d the pece. Summa 41*s*. 8*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte for the true making of kerseyes; eche of them conteynyng one holle leafe dim. of basterde paper, at j^d ob. the pece. Summa 3*l*. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Item v^c of the Acte expounding a certeyn Statute concernyng the ship-
pyng of clothes; eche of them conteynyng a dim. leafe of basterde paper,
at ob. the pece. Summa, 20s. 10d.

Item for the byndyng of ij Primmers, written, and covered with purple
velvet, and written abowte with golde, at iij^s. the pece. Summa 6s.

Item delyvered to the Kinges hyghnes, the vj day of Maye, xij of the
Statutes made in the Parliament holden in the xxxiiijth yere of his moste
gracious reigne; at xvjd. the pece. Summa, 16s.

Item delyvered to Mr. James, Maister Denes servaunte, for the Kinges
hyghnes use, the xvjth day of Maye, a greate booke of paper imperiall,
bounde after the facion of Venice, price 15s.

Item delyvered to the seid Maister James, for the Kinges hyghnes
use, another greate booke of paper imperiall, bounde after the Italian
fascion, the price 14s.

Item delyvered the xiiij day of June, to Maister Daniell, servaunte to
Maister Deny, to the Kinges hyghnes use; ij bookes of paper royall
bounde after the Venecian fascion, the price 18s.

It. delyvered to Maister Secretary, Maister Wrysley, the v day of
November, iij dosen bookes of the Declaracion of the Kinges hyghnes
title to the soverayntie of Scotland, at iijjd. the pece. Summa 12s.

Item delyvered to Maister Jones, servaunte to Maister Deny, the xxx
daye of December, v *Tullius de Officijs*, bounde in paper bourdes, at
xvjd. the pece; and one gorgiously gilted for the Kinges hyghnes, price
iij^s. iijjd. Summa, 10s.

Item for byndyng of a paper booke for the Kinges hyghnes, and the
gorgious giltynge thereof; delyvered the xiiij day of January to Mr.
Turner, 3s. 4d.

Item delyvered to Maister Hynnige, for the Kinges hyghnes use, the
vij day of Febr. a greate paper booke of royall paper, bounde after the
Venecian fascion, price 8s.

Item delyvered the ix day of February, to my Lorde Chauncellour,
vj^c of the Proclamacions for white meates, at ob. the pece, 25s.

Item delyvered the vj day of Marche, iij bookes of "The Institution
of a xp'en man", made by the clergy, unto the Kinges most honerable
Counsayll, at xx^d the pece, 5s.

Anno Domini 1543.

Item delyvered the vj day of Aprill, to Maister Henry Knyvett, for the
Kinges hyghnes, a bridgement of the Statutes, gorgiously bounde, 5s.

Item delyvered to the Kinges moost honerable Counsaill, the viij day
of Aprill, iij litle bookes of the Statutes, price xij^d. Item iij bookes of
the vj Articles, price vjd. Item iij of the Proclamacions ageynst Anabap-
tistes, price vjd. Item iij Proclamacions of ceremones, price vjd. Item

iiij of the Injunccons, price vj^d . Item iiij of holy dayes, price iiij^d. Summa, 3s. 3d.

Item delyvered to my Lorde Chauncellour of England, the iiij daye of Maye, ij^c Proclamacions concernyng the price of suger, conteynyng one hole leafe of basterde paper, at j^d . the pece. Summa, 16s. 8d.

Item for the byndyng of a booke written on vellim, by Maister Turner, covered with blacke velvet, 16d.

Item delyvered to my lorde Chauncellor, the xxxj day of Maye, v^c of the Acte for the advauncement of true religion and abolishment of the contrarie, made out in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng iii leaves dim. of greate basterde paper, at $iiij^d$. ob. the pece. Summa, 7l. 5s. 10d.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte for the explanacion of the statutes of willes, made out in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng iii leaves of great basterd paper, at $iiij^d$. the pece. Summa, 6l. 5s.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte agaynst suche parsones as doe make bankruptes, made out in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng two greate leaves of basterde paper, at ij^d . the pece. Summa, 4l. 3s. 4d.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte for the preservacion of the ryver of Severne, made oute in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng two small leaves of paper, at j^d . the pece; 41s. 8d.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte concernyng collectours and receyvours, made out in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng a leafe dim. of paper, at j^d . the pece. Summa, 41s. 8d.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte for the true making of coverlettes in Yorke, made oute in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng ij smalle leaves of paper, at j^d . the pece. Summa, 41s. 8d.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte for the assise of cole and woode, made owt in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng a leafe of smalle paper, at ob. the pece, 20s. 10d.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte, that persons, beyng noe common surgions, may mynistrer outwarde medycines, made oute in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng a leafe of smalle paper, at ob. the pece. Summa, 20s. 10d.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte to auctorise certeyne of the kinges majesties counsaill to sett prices upon wines; made out in Proclamacions, eche of them conteynyng a leafe of paper, at ob. the pece. Summa, 20s. 10d.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte for the true making of pynnes, made out in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng halfe a leafe of paper, at ob. the pece. Summa, 10s. 5d. $\frac{1}{2}d$.

Item delyvered v^c of the Acte for the true making of frises and cottons in Wales, made oute in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng a leafe of paper, at ob. the pece. Summa, 21s. 8d.

Item delyvered fiftie of the Acte for payyng of certeyne lanes and stretes in London and Westm., made out in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng ij leaves of smalle paper, at j^d . the pece, 4s. 2d.

Item delyvered fiftie of the Acte for knyghtes and burgeses to have places in the parliament, for the county palantyne and citie of Chester, made out in Proclamacions; eche of them conteynyng a leaffe of smalle paper, at ob. the pece; 2s. 1*d*.

Item delyvered fourtie bookes of the Acte for certeyne ordenaunces in the kinges majesties dominion and principalitie of Wales, at iiij*d*. the pece. Summa, 13s. 4*d*.

Item delyvered to the kinges highnes, the firste day of June, xxiiij bookes intituled "A necessary doctrine for any Christen man," at xv*d*. the pece. Summa, 32s.

Item delyvered to the kinges highnes, the third day of June, xxiiij bookes intituled "A necessary doctrine for any Christen man," at xv*d*. the pece. Summa, 32s.

Item delyvered to the kinges hyghnes, the iiij day of June, xxiiij of the booke intituled "A necessary doctryne for any Christen man," at xv*d*. the pece. Summa, 32s.

Item delyvered to Maister Stokeley, the xij day of June, xij Proclamacions for the advancement of true religion, at ij*d*. ob. the pece; 3s. 6*d*.

Item xx of the Proclamacions of the Acte for explanacion of the statute of willes, at ij*d*. the pece. Summa, 5s.

Item xj proclamacions of the Acte of bankrupte, at ij*d*. the pece. Summa, 3s. 4*d*.

Item xx Proclamacions of the Acte for Severne, at j*d*. the pece. Summa, 20*d*.

Item xx Proclamacions of the Acte of collectours and receyvoirs, at j*d*. the pece, 20*d*.

Item xx Proclamacions of the Acte for making of coverlettes in Yorke, at j*d*. the pece. Summa, 20*d*.

Item xx of the Proclamacions, that persones beyng noe comon surgions may minstre outewarde medicynes, at ob. the pece. Summa, 10*d*.

Item xx Proclamacions of the Acte for certeyne of the kinges maiesties counsaill to sett prices of wyne; at ob. the pece. Summa, 10*d*.

Item xx Proclamacions of the Acte for true making of pynnes, at q^a the pece, 5*d*.

Item xx Proclamacions of the Acte for true making of frises and cottons in Wales; at ob. the pece. Summa, 10*d*.

Summa totalis, cxvij*li*. vj*d*. ob.

Thomas Stodley Anno

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 14, 1852.

THE second visit to inspect the antiquities of the city of London, was made by the Association this day. The members and their friends assembled in the hall of the Barbers' Company, in Monkwell-street, Falcon-square, and inspected the various charters relating to the Company from the time of Edward IV, and also the plate presented by Henry VIII, Charles II, and queen Anne. Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., occupied the chair, in the Court Room, and delivered a paper "On the History of the Company, and its union with the Surgeons of London," which, together with other papers read at this meeting, and on occasion of the previous visit to Guildhall, etc., will appear in the *Journal*. The thanks of the meeting having been voted to Mr. Pettigrew for his paper, Mr. White, the registrar, read some "Observations on St. James in the Wall," and its remarkable crypt; also on St. Giles, Cripplegate, and "Carpenters' Hall, in London Wall." These places were successively visited, after which several of the members adjourned to dine together at Masons' Hall, Basinghall-street.

JANUARY 28.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle was enrolled an associate.

The following gentlemen were also elected associates :

George Hypcroft, esq., of 15, Billiter-street.

George Vere Irving, esq., of 10, Amptill-square.

Thomas Gunston, esq., 84, Upper-street, Islington.

The following presents were received, and thanks voted to the donors :

From the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. Annaler for nordisk Old Kyndighed og Historie, 1847-50. 4 vols. 8vo.

— Antiquarisk Tidsskrift, 1849-51. 8vo.

— Report addressed by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries to its British and American members. Copenhagen, 1836. 8vo.

— Leitfaden zur Nordischen Alterthumskunde. Copenhag. 1837. 8vo.

— Soc. Roy. des Antiq. du Nord. Rapport des Séances Annuelles de 1848-51. 8vo.

From the Society of Antiquaries de l'Ouest. Bulletins de la Soc., 1850-51. 4 parts. 8vo.

- From Professor Arneth.* Beschreibung der Medaillen und Münzen der Fürsten und Grafen von Dietrichstein, von J. Arneth. 8vo.
- Bericht über die von Herrn Dr. Kandler aus Triest der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften eingeschiedten Druckschriften. 8vo.
- Memoria Historico-critica sobre et gran Disco de Theodosie encontrado en Almendralejo. 1848. 8vo.
- Zwölf Römische Militar-Diplome beschreiben von J. Arneth. Wien, 1843. 4to.
- Ueber antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine von Kreta. 8vo.
- Beschreibung der Thurm-Glocken zu St. Florian von. J. Arneth. 8vo.
- Sendschreiben an Herrn Dr. F. G. v. Hahn, veranlaast durch seine an die Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften eingeschiedten Bemerkungen über einige albanesische Worte. 8vo.
- Archäologische Analecten von J. Arneth. 8vo.
- Antwort des Herrn Regierungsrothes Arneth auf ein Schreiben des Herrn Havell. 8vo.
- Chronik der Archäologischen Funde in der Oesterreichischen Monarchie von J. G. Seidl. Wien, 1847. 8vo.
- From the Author.* Aperçu de l'Ancienne Géographie des Régions Arctiques de l'Amérique, par C. C. Rafn. Copenhagen, 1847. 8vo.
- Memoir on the European Colonization of America, by Dr. Zesterman, with Observations by E. G. Squier. 1851. 8vo.
- Hommes et Choses, par M. Boucher des Perthes. Paris, 1851. 12mo.
- From Rev. Dr. Nicholson.* The Abbey of St. Alban: some Extracts from its early History, and a description of its Conventual Church. London, 1851. 8vo.
- From the Author.* Remarks on some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races, by J. Y. Akerman. London, 1852. 4to.
- Amboglanna: Papers communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by J. Glasford Potter. Newc. 1851. 4to.
- Reliquiæ Antiquæ Eboracenses. Part I. By W. Bowman. Leeds, 1851. 4to.
- From the Archæological Institute.* The Archæological Journal, No. 32, 1851. 8vo.

Mr. S. I. Tucker exhibited a Roman urn dug up at the time when Old London Bridge was pulled down. It is perfect, and has two handles. When discovered it contained various Roman coins.

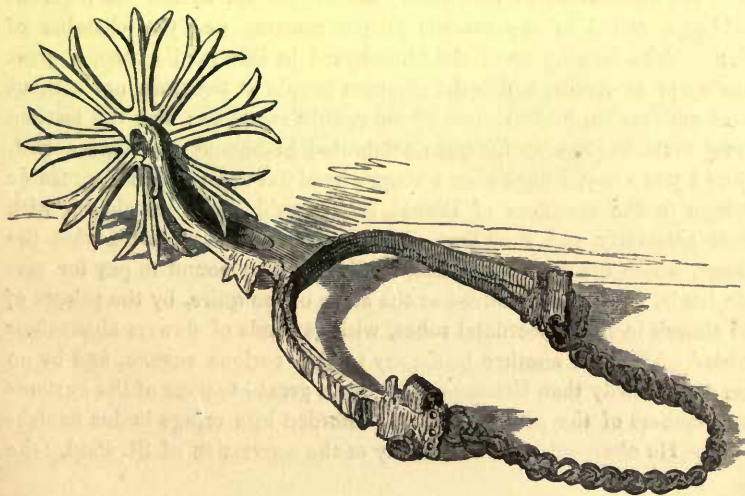
Mr. T. N. Brushfield exhibited the drawing of what was considered to be a Roman camp pot, found by some iron-getters about twelve feet from the surface of the ground, immediately over the Blackshale bed of iron-stone at Walton, near Chesterfield, on sir Henry Hunloke's property; probably the Roman station LVTVDARVM (see Bateman's *Vestiges*, pp. 135, 164). The vessel measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height; its diameter is

5 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and the handle nine inches in length. It is in the possession of J. Thompson, esq., of Sherwood Hall, Mansfield.



Mr. Thompson, of Sherwood Hall, exhibited a sketch of a Roman pig of lead, of which he possesses a cast. It was dug up, a few years since, in Hexgrave Park, about six miles from Mansfield. The inscription on the upper part reads: C. JVL. PROTI. BRIT. LVT. EXARC.

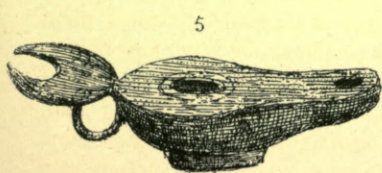
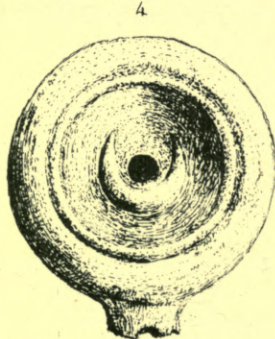
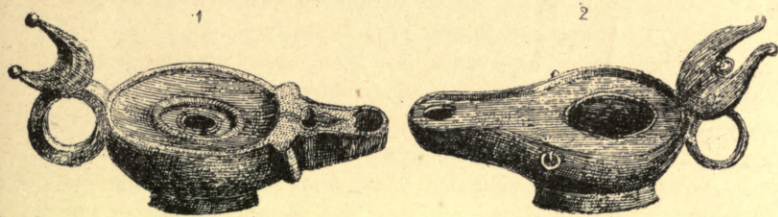
Mr. T. E. Cavanagh, of Wexford, exhibited two spurs found in that city. One was of the time of Philip and Mary; probably Spanish, but presenting no remarkable feature: the other, an engraving of which is here given, was of the close of the fifteenth century (circa 1480?), and the rowel of an unusually fanciful character. Mr. A. White remarked that its foliations resembled the leaves of the *asplenium septentrionale*, a native of the county of Wexford. Such resemblance might of course be accidental, but it is nevertheless curious.



Mr. Burkitt made the following communication to the association on *Objects ascribed to the worship of Diana, found in London*:—

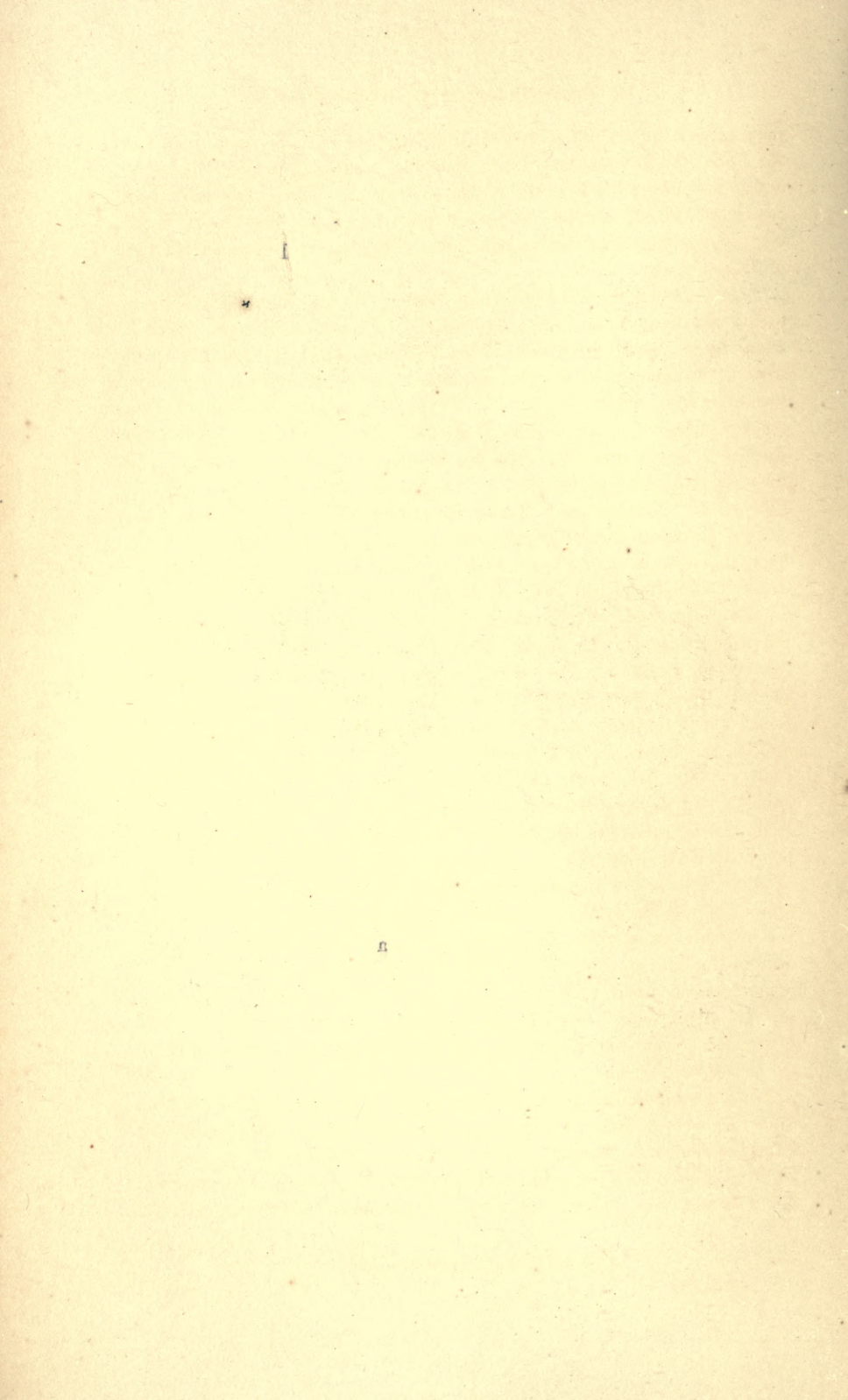
“During the excavations going on in Cannon-street, I was fortunate enough to obtain from an excavator an interesting specimen of an object of great rarity, a bronze lamp, figured in plate 13, fig. 5.

“It is well known that discoveries have been made from time to time in London, in the form of altars, statues, pottery, and lamps, in terracotta as well as bronze, which it is impossible to mistake as having reference to the goddess Diana. There exists in the hall of the Goldsmiths’ Company, an altar with that deity, represented fully equipped for the chase. This was found near to the spot where it is now preserved. Two lamps are preserved in the museum of Guildhall, on one of which is represented in relief a bust of the goddess of the chase, with the crescent at her shoulders, and another bearing the simple ornament of the crescent. (See plate 13, figs. 3 and 4.) These specimens were both found amongst the vast quantity of Roman antiquities, near to the large altar, which was destroyed soon after its discovery, on the site of the present Royal Exchange. Many private collections contain fragments of pottery, depicting representations of the chase; indeed, by far the greater proportion of fragments of ornamented Samian ware found in London, I believe, will be found to have on them those subjects, as possibly more in accordance with the taste of the Roman colonists; surrounded, as the ancient city then was, with thick woods, stocked with deer, wild boars, and other animals. Discoveries of similar objects, bearing the same device, were noticed by Camden, who made particular reference to the tradition, that the ancient cathedral of St. Paul stood upon the spot where formerly had stood a temple dedicated to Diana. ‘Some have fancied that a temple of Diana formerly stood here; and there are circumstances that back that conjecture, as the old adjacent buildings, called in the records *Dianæ camera*, i.e., the chamber of Diana. The digging up of the churchyard in Edward I’s time, a great number of ox-heads, which the common people at the time, not without great admiration, looked upon to be gentile sacrifices; and the learned know that the *Tauropolia* were celebrated in honour of Diana: and, when I was a boy, I have seen a stag’s head fixt upon a spear (agreeable enough to the sacrifices of Diana), and carry’d about the church with great solemnity and sounding of horns. And I have heard that the staggs, which the family of *Baud*, in Essex, were bound to pay for certain lands, used to be received at the steps of the quire, by the priests of the church in their sacerdotal robes, with garlands of flowers about their heads.’ We have another testimony to this curious custom, and by no less an authority than Erasmus, who was a great observer of the customs and manners of the people, who had afforded him refuge in his banishment. He observed, that on the day of the conversion of St. Paul, ‘the



Roman Lamps.

A. B. B. F. S. A.
1852



people, in a sort of wild procession, bring into the church of St. Paul, the head of a kind of deer, frequent in that island, fixed upon the top of a long spear or pole, with the whole company blowing hunters'-horns in a sort of hideous manner; and so, in this rude pomp, they go up to the high altar and offer it there: you would think them all the mad votaries of Diana.¹

"On pursuing the subject a little further, we find that the tenements mentioned by Camden, and called *Camerae Dianæ*, stood some distance from the church, on St. Paul's-wharf Hill, near Doctors' Commons, and took their name from a spacious building, full of intricate turnings, 'wherein king Henry II, as he did at Woodstock, kept his heart's delight, whom he called Fair Rosomond and here Diana'; and with respect to the composition between the family of *Baud* of a buck and 22 acres, parcel of the manor of Westley, it is no older than the 3rd Edward I. With respect to the interesting objects which were discovered in the excavations, made after the great fire, they appear to have been dispersed, some falling into the hands of Mr. Worsley, Mr. Kemp, and Dr. Woodward, the latter of whom addressed a letter on the subject to Sir Christopher Wren. Amongst these objects were two earthen lamps representing the figure of a building, and which, Mr. Kemp, into whose possession they came, supposed to represent the temple of Diana. These were found with the tusks of boars. There was also found a perfect figure of the goddess, together with sacrificial utensils; and on a lamp, the figure of Diana in relief in a hunting posture,—in the same manner, Mr. Kemp observes, as she is represented on the Greek coins at Ephesus. Thus we have shewn quite a sufficient number of examples of this type to justify a conclusion that Diana held a high position in the estimation of the Roman citizens of London. The fact of their distribution over different parts of the city, in close proximity to altars and objects of a votive character, seems to indicate their general use in public ceremonies, either in connection with her attribute as guardian of the city, as mistress of rivers, *amniūm domina* (Catullus, 34, 12), inspectress or superintendent of ports, *λιμένεσσιν ἐπίσκοπος* (Callimachus, iii, 40), all of them being equally appropriate, or not the less so, that of a more private nature, in her capacity of presiding over the birth of the primitive citizens."

To this communication Mr. H. Syer Cuming has obligingly added the following observations on the subject:—"The Roman lamp of bronze, lately exhumed in Cannon-street, City, exhibited by Mr. Burkitt, is rightly believed to be an object of considerable rarity in this country; but it is not to be regarded as a unique specimen, as is manifest from

¹ Life, by Dr. Knight, p. 298.

the fact that we have now before us its exact counterpart. Indeed, so like are the two specimens, that the same etching would serve well as a representation of either lamp. The example now produced (see plate 13, fig. 6) was formerly in the collection of our late lamented associate Mr. E. J. Carlos, and was found, in July 1834, in excavating Princes-street, nearly opposite the Bank doors. Although each lamp stands upon a low rim, and is provided with a ring-shaped *ansa* or handle at the opposite extremity to the *myxa* or beak, they were intended for suspension by means of *catellæ* or small chains, and therefore belong to the class denominated by the Romans *Lucerna pensilis*. In the Princes-street specimen, one of the little rings to which the chain was attached, is still remaining. An interesting feature in these lamps is a crescent which overshadows the handle, and which indicates that they were dedicated to, or employed in the service of, Diana. The antiquaries of a former age would possibly have looked upon these lamps as *donaria* offered at the shrine of the virgin goddess, who, according to tradition, had a temple erected to her honour in *Londinium*, on the spot now occupied by St. Paul's Cathedral. They may have been suspended before an image of Diana in a private *sacellum* or chapel attached to the villa of some opulent Roman merchant; but, be this as it may, they are beyond all question *Lucernæ* of a sacred character, and probably belong to an early period of Roman dominion in Britain. Such lamps, though of rather rare occurrence in this country, appear to be more frequently met with on the continent. Two examples are engraved in Beger's description of the Brandenburg Collection, tom. iii, p. 438, F., and p. 445, S. (See plate 13, figs. 1 and 2.) The one much resembles our London specimens; the other is rather more ornate in design, and the crescent bears three lines of inscription in Greek characters, implying that the lamp was dedicated to Artemis of Ephesus, by Eutyclus Alexander, of Miletopolis, a city of Mysia, near Bithynia, in Asia Minor.

ARTEMIC ΕΦΕCΙQN
EITYXOYZ AΛEΞANΔPOY
MEIAHTOΠOΛEITQN.

“This Artemis, it will be remembered, is the goddess so celebrated in the Acts of the Apostles (c. 19), as Diana of the Ephesians.”

Mr. Carrington exhibited a variety of rubbings from interesting brasses, accompanied by the following explanatory remarks:—

“*Lamborne church, Berkshire.* Lamborne is a market town, in the midst of downs, at that part of Berks which adjoins North Wiltshire, and is five miles from Hungerford. In the church are several brasses; and I was favoured with rubbings of them by my friend Mr. Jenner Gale Hillier.

“The brass No. 1, is of John Estbury, who died in 1372 (46 Edw. III),

put up by his son Thomas in his own lifetime, his own figure being added, with a blank for the date beyond M.CCCC. This John Estbury, who no doubt lived at a hamlet in Lamborne parish, which still bears his name, and is called Izbury, founded the chantry of St. Mary in the church here, respecting which, in the Calendar of the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, is the following entry:

‘Secunda pars de anno vicesimo tertio Edw. 3. [Second numbers, p. 162.]

‘No. 30. Johannes de Holte pro custode cantarie beate Marie in ecclesia de Lamburn.

Lamburn, 50 acr. terr. &c.	} Berks.’
Blacgrove terr. & ten.	
reman. eidem Johanni.	

“The brass No. 2 purports to be laid down to the memory of Roger Garrard, and Elizabeth his wife, with a date of 1631; but I should suggest that the costume is of the reign of Richard II. A figure with a long forked beard is of that date, in Mr. Planché’s admirable and most useful work on costume, (p. 158 of the first edition, and p. 202 of the second edition); and the head-dress of the lady has the same date assigned to it in the Rev. C. Bowtel’s second work on brasses. Above the figures is one of the symbols of the Evangelists, and below the inscription, another; the third and fourth are gone. Those remaining are in the rubbing No. 3.

“Then arises the question, who were the persons represented in the brass No. 2? I think that they are not of the Estbury family. The first John Estbury (in the brass No. 1) died in 1372, and his son Thomas laid down a brass to both, after the year 1400. Now that being so, it is improbable that any brass would be laid down to the memory of a gentleman and lady of the Estbury family, *temp.* Richard II. And this leads to the inquiry, who were the considerable people in Lamborne in that reign? From the proofs hereafter stated, I should suggest that this is the brass of sir Thomas Grandison, knight, and Margaret his wife.

“I find by the Calendar of the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, 9 Edw. III, (p. 66, No. 35), that ‘Willielmus de Grandissono’ died possessed of the manor of ‘Lamborne, Berks’; rents at Dartford and Cransted, Kent; the manor of Burnham, Somerset; the manors of Norton-Scydemore, Fifide, Upton-Scydemore, and Lydiard-Tregoze, Wiltshire; lands at Rokele (now called Ruckley, two miles north of Marlborough,) and Teffont Ewias, Wiltshire; the manors of Dymoke and Oxenhale, Gloucestershire; and the manors of Eton, Apperton, and Stratton, in Herefordshire.

“But ‘Willielmus de Grandissono’ is, I think, too early for the costume. In the Calendar of the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, 49 Edw. III, I find, (at p. 342, No. 62,) ‘Thomas de Graunson, Ch^r.’ He died possessed of the manors of Burnham, Brene, and Honispul, in Somersetshire; the manors of Dymmok and Oxenhale, in Gloucestershire; rents at Dartford,

in Kent; the manors of Ihamme and Idene, in Sussex; and the manors of Ashe, Faname, Chellesfeld, Esthall, Kemesinge, Le Sele, and Rivershe, in Kent. And in the Calendar of the *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, 18 Rich. II (p. 181, No. 18), I find 'Margareta uxor Thome Graunson, Chr.' dying possessed of—

'Chiping Lamborne <i>tercia pars</i> unius tofti unius caruc. terr.	} Berks.'
12 acr. bosci et pastur. pro 200 bidentibus et 100s. reddit. ut	
de maner. de Wantynge	

Also of a *third part* of the manors following: Dymok, Gloucestershire; Dartford, Kemsinge, Sele, Chelesford, Ashe, and Fankham, Kent.

"This, I think, shows pretty clearly that she was the widow of, and had dower of the estates of, sir Thomas Grandison. The proper name of the town and parish of Lamborne, is Chipping Lamborne.

"We next find the property at Chipping Lamborne above described, and the 100s. of rent, among the great possessions of 'Willielmus de Monteacuto comes Sarum', in the same Calendar, under the date of 20 Rich. II (p. 203, No. 35); and the manor of Lamborne next occurs in the same Calendar, under the date 20 Edw. IV (p. 401, No. 65), among the possessions of 'Fulco Bourghchier miles dominus Fitzwarren.'

"I am informed by Mr. Barnes of Lamborne, the late under-sheriff of Berkshire, that the most beautiful meadow in Lamborne is still called 'Grandison's meadow'; and that he has learnt from Mr. Crouch, a gentleman resident at Lambourn, that he has ascertained, from the description in old deeds, that till within the last hundred years, a place in the Lamborne woodlands (which are about a mile south of the town) was called 'Graunson's', but that no one in Lambourn could at all tell whence these names were derived.

"The brass No. 4 is an altar tomb in a chantry in the south-east corner of the body of the church; and at the head of the tomb, and at the upper end of its two sides, are let in the brasses No. 5 and No. 6. The inscription once went all round the tomb; but at present these portions of it are all that remain.

"The shields, No. 6*, are let into the tomb at the lower end, and little brass scrolls were formerly on the top of the tomb, at the sides of the figure; but all of them are now lost.

"The neighbourhood of Lamborne is a great coursing country; and here, between the words of the inscription, two dogs of heavy build are represented hunting a hare. A sheep is also represented, without horns. The Cotswold sheep, in Gloucestershire, have no horns, nor have the Leicester and the Southdown breeds; and yet, on the outside of the Norman churches of Kilpeck, Herefordshire, and Elkstone, Gloucestershire (the latter of which is on the Cotswold hills), the head of a sheep

is represented on each, which has horns like those of the Welsh sheep of the present day.

“These brasses, No. 4, No. 5, No. 6, and No. 6*, are in the time of John Isbury, esq., to whom, on the 8th of March, 16 Hen. VII, license was granted by the king to found a chantry and an almshouse; and by a deed dated the 4th of March, 18 Hen. VII (1502), he founded ‘the chantry of the Holy Trinity in Lamborne, and the almshouse, to be called The Almshouse of John Isbury at Lamborne’. This almshouse was further regulated in the reign of queen Elizabeth, in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in the thirty-first year of her reign.

“The chantry of St. Mary is supposed to have been at the north-east corner of the body of the church, near the place at which a very handsome monument of sir William Essex and his lady now stands, with large alabaster recumbent figures on it, *temp. Eliz.*; and near this place it is said that the brass No. 1 originally lay.

“The brass No. 7 is to the memory of one of the Garrard family and his wife. This family, till very recently, held the great tithes of this parish, as lessees of the deans of St. Paul’s, to whose predecessor this rectory was granted by Canute, as is stated in Weever’s *Fun. Mon.* 355.

“The brass No. 8 is let into the north wall of the chancel. It is only curious from being so very badly executed.

“Between the body of the church and the south-east chantry is an arch, which is ornamented with the ball flower, and has on it very well executed alto-relievo representations of a brace of greyhounds coursing a hare, and also some fish, supposed to be trout. At the bottom of the arch, at one end, is a grotesque bust of a man, whose sleeves have buttons from the elbow to the wrist, like those of Robert Braunce on the celebrated Lynn brass; the arch having, at the bottom of the other end, a grotesque bust of a lady wearing a wimple.

“The brasses on the long roll are from Wantage, Berkshire, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the rev. J. Butler, the vicar of that place. Of the *first* and *third*, I can give no account. The second is to Ivo Fitzwarren, who, by the *Inquisitio post Mortem* of 2 Hen. V (page 9, No. 48), appears to have died possessed of—

Lands at Stratton	}	Wilts.
100 acres in Braden forest		
The manor of Haydon		
Haydon Wick		
The town of Wilton, near Sarum, with the lands, tenements, rents, and courts there	}	Cambridge.
The sixth part of the manor of Clopton Bury.....		
The manor of Packenesham in Leatherhead		
The third part of the manor of Garnons		
		Surrey.
		Essex.

also of several manors and lands in Dorsetshire :—

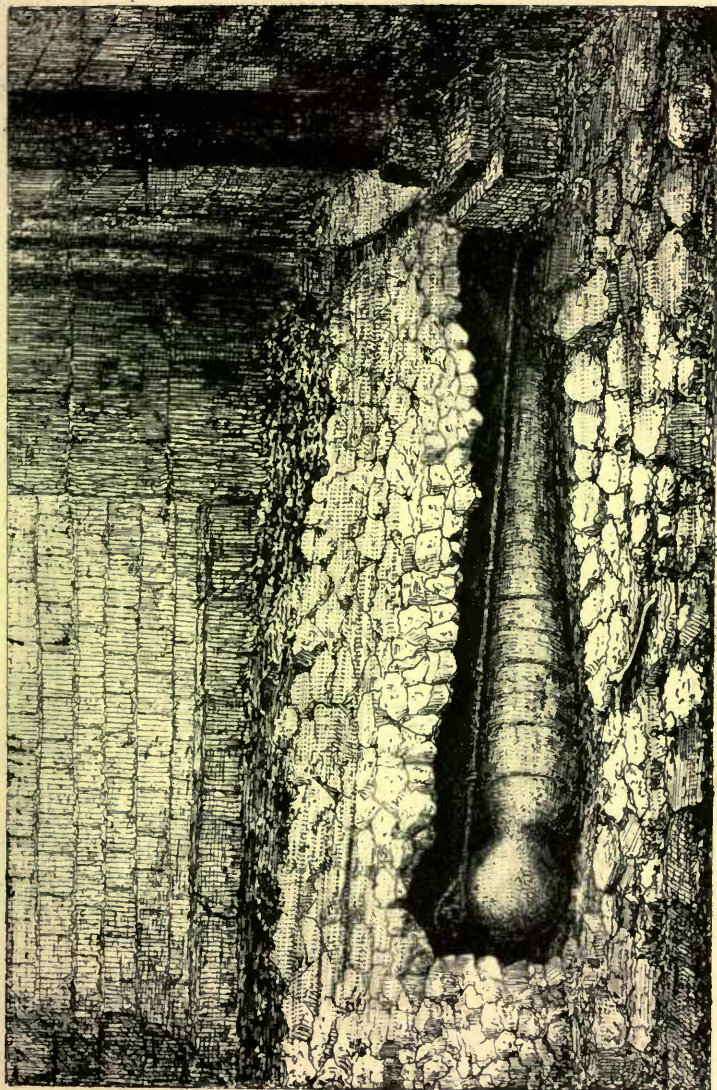
Ibrowere	}	Dorset.
Putteneye		
Werne		
Purstock		
Wilton		
Caundell		
Haddon		
Winterborn		
Haughton		
Upsan		
Lydelinch		
———— Baret		

and also lands at

Antioches	}	Dorset
Caundell Marsh		
and Sherborn		

“The brasses of John Trenowyth, 1497, and John Trembras, 1515, are from the church of St. Michael Penkevil, near Falmouth; and for these I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Edward Foulkes.”

Mr. Pettigrew called the attention of the Association to a discovery made during the progress of the buildings at the new houses of parliament, on the 17th of January. Whilst the workmen were engaged in pulling down a portion of the old building, known as St. Stephen's Crypt, they came to an opening in the window-seat, at the north-east corner of the building, in which was contained a body, wrapped up in canvas cloths. The hole in which this was found was just of a sufficient size to receive the body, and was in a very rude condition, being formed in the rubble, and very irregular in its shape. It appeared to have been made in a great hurry, having masses of broken stone projecting from above and at its sides; but the bottom was correctly levelled, though not in any way shaped as a tomb. The stonework had afterwards been repaired, and the whole cavity hidden from view. Upon the body, and lying diagonally from the left shoulder to the right foot, was a bishop's or abbot's crozier, the upper part of which, composed of oak, was carved, representing a leaf, whilst the lower consisted of a staff of deal: it measured six feet two inches. The nature of the carved ornament, and the style of workmanship, showed it to belong to the fifteenth century. Over the body was extended a sheet, in a manner somewhat resembling the Egyptian mummies: it extended over the whole of the anterior surface, along the sides, and partly beneath the body. Upon the removal of this the figure of the body was more clearly discovered: the head was apparently of large size, and done up in the manner of the Egyptians, to the mummies of which it bore a



At Burkhitt Hall
1852

The Body of Bishop Laydewode as discovered in the under chapel
St. Stephens - Westminster 1852.



strong resemblance. It was also, and the body likewise, secured by a well-made cordage, fastened by what is called the half-hitch, and to the feet of the body were attached the leathern soles of sandals. The body measured five feet eight inches in length, and was fifteen inches across the shoulders. With the exception of the two forearms and hands, the entire form was bandaged. These portions were left without any covering; consequently, the bones of these parts alone remained, and those of the right forearm and hand were found lying loose across the breast, directed towards the left shoulder: that on the left side had fallen into the hole in which the body laid. The absence of bandages on these parts, in Mr. Pettigrew's opinion, proved that the body had been removed from its original resting place; and he thought it not improbable that the gauntlets or gloves, with which it had formerly been furnished, had been abstracted. This might have been occasioned either during some religious movement, common in the fifteenth century, and made in order to protect the remains from receiving any indignity that might be offered to them, or by an act of theft, which latter Mr. Pettigrew considered to be the most probable. Not an inscription or memorial of any kind beyond that of the crozier alluded to, by which the character of the body as an ecclesiastic was denoted, was to be found: no chalice, ring, paten, etc. It was the practice to bury ecclesiastical dignitaries in their sacred vestments; and the rings and other jewels attached to these might have excited the cupidity of those connected with the place. The whole matter was one of considerable interest; and Mr. Pettigrew was happy to say that the authorities were alive to the subject, and were ready to afford every facility to the development of the mystery. A committee of the Society of Antiquaries had been appointed, and a draftsman engaged, to pursue the inquiry, and at the next meeting he would report the result of their labours.

Mr. Burkitt exhibited a drawing of the body, as found in the crypt. (See plate 14.)

Mr. Duesbury called the attention of the association to the beauties of the crypt, now in process of demolition, and remarked upon several errors which had crept into the account of it published by the Society of Antiquaries. At the request of the Association, he undertook to furnish a paper on the subject, at some future meeting, he having been engaged upon the survey of the houses of parliament after the fire.

FEBRUARY 11.

Lionel Oliver, Esq., of 23, Fitzroy-square, and Mrs. Herbert Rice, of Western Lodge, Hammersmith Road, were elected associates.

The following presents were received, and thanks voted to the donors: *Mr. Pettigrew.* A Cast from the Face of the Mummy of the Bishop of St. David's, lately found in the under chapel of St. Stephen.

The Société Archéologique de l'Orléanais; The First Volume of their Mémoires, Orleans, 1851, 8vo.; and four numbers of the Bulletin of their Proceedings, from 1848 to 1851.

Mr. H. W. Rolfe exhibited a large silver medal of the archbishop Sancroft, and seven of his suffragans. On the obverse was the profile of the primate in fine relief, and the reverse had the profiles of the seven bishops, who, with the archbishop, had, by petition, remonstrated upon the proceedings of James II, to record which this medal had been struck.

The hon. Robert Henry Meade, through Mr. W. Winkley, laid before the association a silver siege piece, struck at Newark in 1646. It was the half-crown, lozenge-shaped, and rude in its execution. On the obverse was a crown, between the letters c. and R.; beneath it xxx; on the reverse OBS. NEWARK. 1646.

Mr. Meade also exhibited a first Roman large brass IMP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINUS. AVG. P.M. T. P.P.P. On the reverse, a general is represented addressing his soldiers, a common design in Roman coins. Struck in honour of some expedition. P.M. T. P.P.P. (Pontifex Max. Trib. Potestate Pat. Patr.)

Mr. Briggs forwarded a drawing of a very curious dagger-like knife. This weapon, a *couteau de chasse*, was found about a year ago on Coleorton Moor, in a rusty, corroded state, and weighs nine ounces. It is mounted with silver; and the figures, of very rude construction, are cut in outline upon the mountings. It has two blades, upon the largest of which are represented a soldier, with his sword hanging from his side, and spurs on his heels—two mermaids, each having an arrow through the tail, and one holding a trident. The part from which the blades spring has the exterior ornamented with a grotesque head. When handled, this weapon feels like a dirk or dagger, rather than a knife. Coleorton (the place where it was found), Mr. Briggs states, was garrisoned in the time of the civil wars; and it struck him, upon first seeing it, that it must have belonged to a cavalry officer, being used for the twofold purpose of a knife and weapon of defence.

Mr. Lukis communicated the following notice of a SEPULCHRAL CAVE in the Island of Guernsey:—

"In vol. i. of this *Journal*, at page 305, there is a short account of several sepulchral caves, discovered in the year 1845, in the Island of Guernsey. In the month of August 1851, on opening the ground on the same side of the hill, called by the natives Càquiaùro, or Catioroc, a large block of stone was discovered, placed at the entrance of another of these artificial caves. By removing this stone a very rude grave was found, constructed in the slope of the hill, and parallel to those formerly examined, as mentioned above. There was a hard gravelly floor within the cave, over which had been laid a stratum of white sand. The roof

was formed of such heavy materials as to appear like a small, natural cavern. (See cut, fig. 1.) Near the mouth of the cave lay a falcated iron instrument or weapon, which had once a wooden handle, the rivet

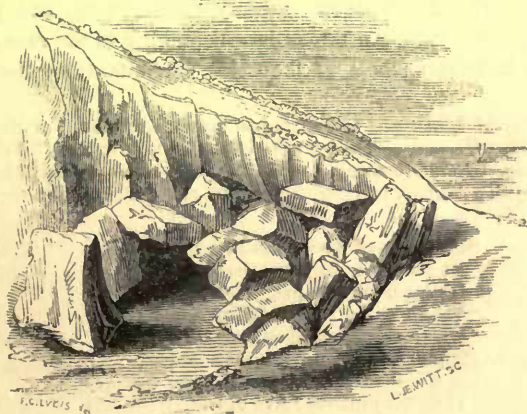
Fig. 1.



only now remaining in its place through the haft. Near it were several traces of iron, which formed a strong cement with the sand of the floor.

“At the further end of the cave was a coarse earthen vase, much broken, the base of which was sunk some inches into the floor, in a cavity, apparently formed to receive it: it was plain and unadorned, and about six inches in height. The injury this vase had received was easily accounted for, on finding a rabbit hole near it; and it may be said that these animals had for centuries, probably, passed over the fragments, as they made this grave their burrow. The floor, which had been covered with white sand, had no human remains visible on it; and several pieces

Fig. 2.



of corroded iron were strewed about, but were too much decomposed to be defined.

"The most interesting part of this depository was the rude roof, constructed of large blocks of granite, wedged together on the slope of the hill, which, when uncovered, presented a mass of debris thrown loosely over a bank. (See cut, fig. 2.) The side-stones of this grave were placed immediately upon the bed of white sand, which had been spread over the whole surface, before the structure was formed. This stratum, in some parts, was dark, and mixed with iron rust, and probably also burnt human ashes.

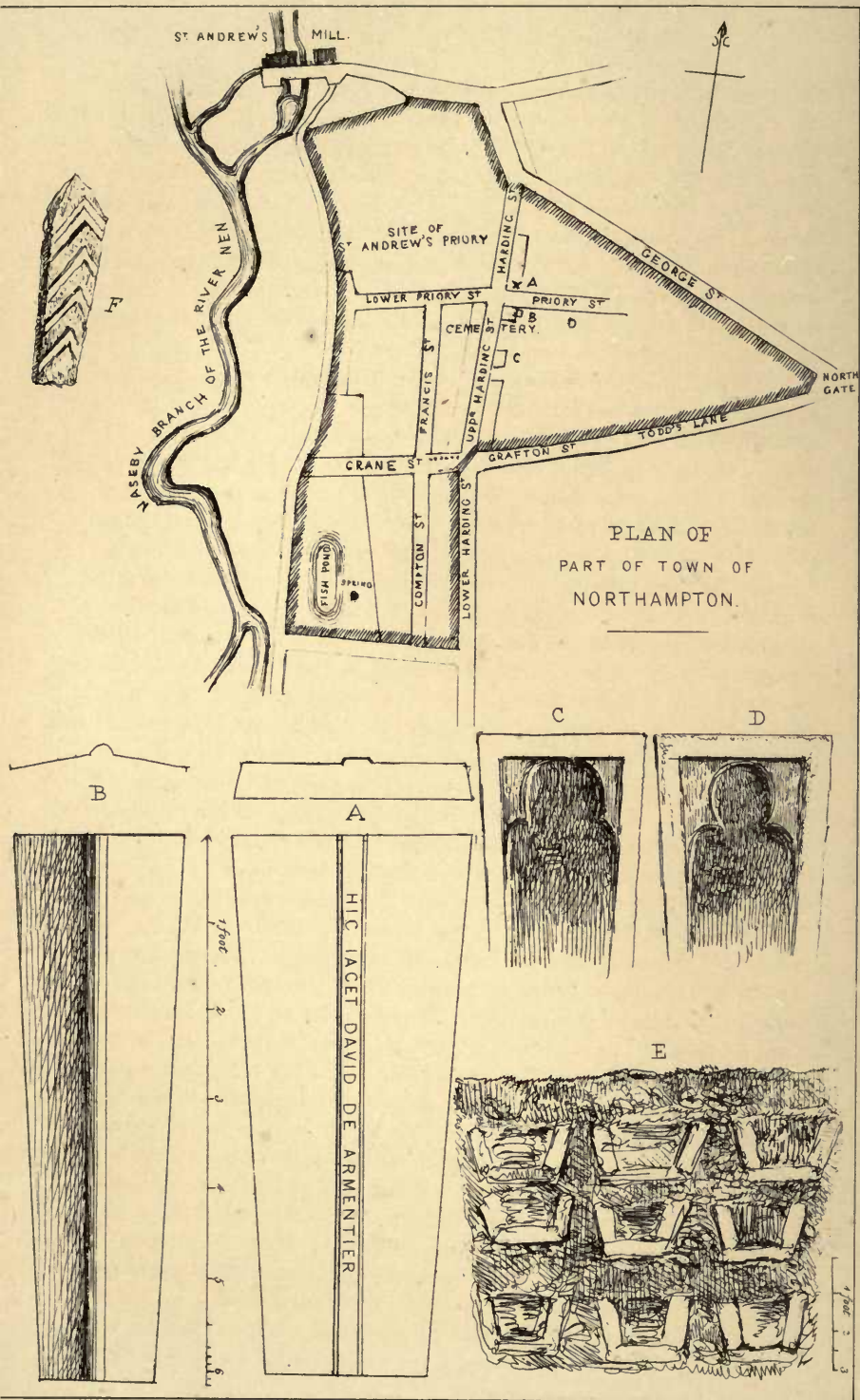
"According to the chronological order established by antiquaries, we must ascribe these curious places of sepulture to the iron period, as the date of their construction. The Càquiaûro is a promontary or elevation, stretching itself on the western side of this island. Its name is introduced into so many of the legends and fairy tales of Guernsey, that it doubtless has been a noted locality for centuries. It stands high, and divides the meadow-land of that coast into two plains; at the extremity of the view, on one hand stands the cromlech of 'Le Creux des Fées', and on the other the Menhir, at the point of Le Croc. In front is another cromlech, called the 'Trepied', beyond which is a small islet, now nearly destroyed by the Atlantic wave, and almost denuded of its surface soil.

"Some vestiges of masonry are still visible on it, and it yet retains the medieval name of 'Chapelle Dam' Hue.' It was doubtless some small ecclesiastical cell or hermitage. The causeway to the islet is called 'Le pont jaune', probably so named from the colour of the beach stones, which are deeply stained by the bog-drainings of the plain of 'La Perelle.' Further to the left is the island of Lihou, where the ruins of a church and priory are still seen;¹ and not far on the east side of Càquiaûro stands the interesting Norman Chapel of St. Apolline, or Pauline. This neighbourhood has afforded many early graves, and the present sepulchral caves denote the interments belonging to the race which succeeded the last descendants of the Celtic inhabitants of these islands;

¹ The priory of Lihou was committed to the care of Raoul or Rodolpho Leonard, in 1501. He was, according to a document still extant, "Frère prêcheur ou Dominicain." Some remaining reminiscences of this ecclesiastic were introduced in Heylin's *Survey*, in 1629, which are not quite foreign to our present subject:

"St. Leonard *Moine*, un peu trop austère
Et remuant, sous la pelouse dort,
Ou les lapins du petit cimetière
Vivent en paix avec l'illustre mort.
Ici, toujours marchant sur les épines,
Rosaire en main, le dévot soupira ;
Il n'entend plus trop tôt sonner matines,
Il ne dit plus ses 'Ave Maria.'"





for it seems beyond doubt that Druidism existed in Guernsey and the other islands at a later period than on the continent of France or in England, and until the iron period. The intermediate or bronze period presents very few specimens in this island. The several pieces of pottery which have been found on the hill of Càquiaüro, have the marks of having been regularly turned or moulded, but without any glazing—the manufacture being decidedly different from that discovered in the cromlech of ‘Le Trepied.’ The depositing of vases with the dead is here seen to continue to a period comparatively recent, the races being distinct, and separated by a long series of years.”

Mr. Pretty made the following communication relative to some ancient remains, recently found in Northamptonshire:—

“Within the last two or three months the foundations were made for a house on the site of the cemetery attached to St. Andrew’s Priory, in this town. Numerous bodies were found interred in the spot marked *B* (in Harding-street, corner of Priory-street), in the accompanying plan. (See plate 15.) The space of ground opened was about thirty feet by eighteen feet, and the depth excavated eight feet. The bodies were mostly buried in rude cists, consisting of flattish, rough stones, laid together uncemented, and, from the description, they were those of adults. Old wrought stones had occasionally been used in their construction. On one a chevron ornament had been worked (see plate, fig. *B*), and fragments of plain Norman mouldings were found. Many had been interred without coffins. One body had been apparently wrapped in a shroud; and, from the circumstance of the soles of sandals being found in the graves, no doubt these were the bodies of the monks. A second opening has been made at *C*, where similar interments were discovered; and at *D* likewise, where a previous excavation had been made for building materials, which proved the extension of the cemetery in that direction. The coffin of David de Armentier was found at *A*, some time since. As nearly as I can make out from the map by Stowe, the abbey stood on the site given on the plan, and the church, probably, about Lower Priory-street. The shaded portion shows the boundaries of the abbey: commencing from St. Andrew’s mill, it ran by a wall that formed part of the ancient fortification of the town, to the site of the north gate, whence it turned west, along Todd’s-lane, to the corner of Upper Harding-street, near where the entrance gateway of the abbey appears to have been situated. The wall next turned south by the present Lower Harding-street, and ran west by Spring-street, and thence proceeded north to the mill. The fish-pond attached to the priory is given on the plan; it was supplied by an excellent spring, which has given name to the street.

“Upon excavating the ground, in forming Francis-street, interments of a very early date were found, apparently Romanized British, or Saxon, having appearances of cremation. Fragments of urns, of black, grey,

and light red ware, were discovered : a large low, broad-shaped urn, of coarse red ware, contained remains of the funereal rites. It appears that from the corner of Crane-street to Lower Priory-street, these and later interments were found. This locality is called 'The Elysian Fields', in a map by Cole, published in 1807, in the *British Atlas*. Among the stone coffins, found some time since on the site of the priory, were those figured A (that of Armentier), B, a ridged coffin, and c and d coffins. The trefoil for the head of the body varied in shape, some being much flatter in the design. (See figures c, d.) They were made of a similar stone to that found at Irthlingborough, in this county.

"David de Armentier was a considerable benefactor to this priory : he lived about the latter end of the twelfth century. The monks were rich in lands, having nearly seven hundred acres in Northampton, and their homestead contained thirty-four acres. The section (E on the plate) shews the three series of interments, as they appeared when they were cut through. The last interments were about eighteen inches from the surface."

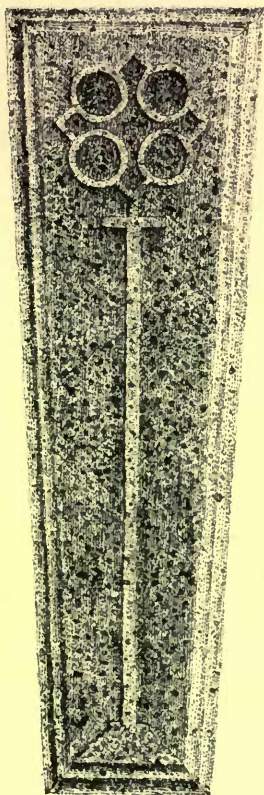
Mr. Burkitt presented drawings of two diminutive coffin lids of stone ornamented with crosses. They are remarkable in respect to their size, one measuring two feet one inch, the other, two feet only, in length. They were recently found in excavating the line of improvements carrying on in Cannon-street, and were referred for consideration and more particular examination of the originals.

Mr. J. B. Scott also laid before the Association a broken vase, found at the same place : it was glazed and ornamented, and belonged probably to the latter part of the fifteenth, or the beginning of the sixteenth century. The colours resembled those of the German ware of the latter period.

Mr. H. W. King favoured the Association with the following notice of antiquities in Runwell Church, Essex :—

"On the floor of the chancel, and partly concealed in the north wall, is a sepulchral slab of Purbeck marble, with a raised ornamental cross upon it. It was doubtless formerly in a recess, which has since been closed up, just about the spot where the eastern sepulchre would have been. To all outward appearance it covers a stone coffin, sunk in the floor. From its position, it may be the tomb of the founder of the original church, and has probably never been violated. I consider it of the date of the thirteenth century ; but as the present church is not older than the latter half of the fifteenth century, it was probably replaced in its present situation when the church was rebuilt, unless the walls of the chancel are the remains of the earlier structure.

"It closely resembles a slab from Dorchester, Oxfordshire, engraved in Cutt's Manual of Sepulchral Slabs, assigned by him to the same period, except that in the Dorchester tomb the mouldings round the lid



THIRTEENTH

CENTURY



TOMB ON THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CHANCEL IN RUNWELL
CHURCH ESSEX, PARTLY INSERTED IN THE WALL ~

H. W. King sketched: A. E. Club Sep: 1851.

appear composed of two astragals, while in this example the edges are sloped with two hollows: the crosses vary but slightly. At Dorchester the four circles touch; and there is a 'roundel' instead of the short transverse piece, below the ornamental head.

"The accompanying etching (see plate 16) shews the slab in its present position, and restored.

"The belfry contains only one bell of date anterior to the Reformation, which is worthy of notice, its age being indicated by the reverse of a coin of the period being cast upon it, *i. e.*, the coin has been impressed upon the mould of the bell, and brought out in relief upon it. I have thought this an uncommon circumstance; but persons who have more extensively examined bells than myself, may have met, perhaps, with similar instances.

"The inscription on the bell is in black letter, with Longo-bardic initials—'Sancte Petre, ora pro nobis', with a cross flory at its commencement and termination, and the coin is between the two crosses. Owing to the darkness of the place, and the oxidized state of the metal, I could not read the legend or examine the coin; but, from the imperfect rubbing of it on a leaf of my note-book, I believe it to be a penny of Edward IV or Richard III, which date I assign to the church, and the coin is to some extent confirmatory of it. I send a rubbing of the coin, on comparing which, with the coins in 'Ruding', I find that the reverses of the pence and halfpence of Richard III, Edward IV, and some of the previous monarchs, are nearly alike in every respect, and the imperfection of the rubbing renders the comparison difficult. Its diameter is a trifle wider than the coins I refer to, engraved in Ruding. The penny of Edward I is nearest in size, but its inner circle is larger. The legends are: Civitas London.; Civitas Cantor.; Civitas Dunolm. etc., on most of them; but the time of Edward IV and Richard III agrees with the style of the church's architecture. It is quite certain, anyhow, that the coin is not later than this, as it resembles none of the subsequent coinage.

"Allow me to remark here, that I think a collection of the ornaments and inscriptions upon bells would be highly interesting: I am not aware that any thing of the kind has been attempted, except privately. The difficulty of access to them, and often the danger of the attempt, particularly in small shingled spires, with the certainty of being almost smothered in dust, deters many from inspecting them at all. But I think the Association will agree with me that their examination is very important; for, independently of the singularity of some of the inscriptions, I know not where any better-preserved samples of Longo-bardic and black-letter characters are to be found, some of them being very elegantly formed. In the church of the adjoining parish of Wickford I found two bells, inscribed in similar characters. On one, 'Sit Nomen

Domini benedictum', with an ancient coronet: on another, 'Sancte Katerina, ora pro nobis.' The invocation of St. Katherine is that most commonly met with, she being the peculiar patroness of bells. On this bell was a coat of arms, 'A chevron, between three crescents reversed, and a chief charged with as many mullets of six points.' I think the discovery of an old coat of arms is always worthy of being registered: it is frequently of great value."

Mr. Pettigrew made a further communication in relation to the proceedings taken in the examination of the body found in the crypt of St. Stephen. Since their last meeting he had had the satisfaction of making a particular examination of the body, in conjunction with the Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, and in the presence of Mr. Phillips of the office of Woods and Forests, Mr. (now Sir Charles) Barry the architect, and Professor Lyon Playfair. The body having been removed from the hole beneath the window seat in which it was discovered, its measurements, as given at the previous meeting, were ascertained; and, assisted by his son, Dr. W. Vesalius Pettigrew, the operation was commenced by sawing through the cere cloths which formed the envelopes of the head. From the compact manner in which the different folds were consolidated, it was found impossible to separate them into their several layers, for the bandages had been placed on in a different manner to that employed by the Egyptians, which was by continued rollers and compresses. A section dividing the front from the back part being effected, attempts were made to raise the mass, which after some time was accomplished, and found to be an outer case or mask, having another beneath it, secured by cordage, as the entire body had been. The outer case thus removed consisted of ten layers, and constituted a mask of one inch in thickness. Another section being made by the saw through nine layers, it was raised, and the face rendered apparent. The features were perfectly distinct. The nose was somewhat flattened by the pressure of the linen cloths, but the cartilages of the nose and the septum forming the nostrils being perfectly preserved, it was easily restored to its proper form and entire, as seen in plate 17, which is executed from a cast Mr. Pettigrew was kindly permitted to make. The colour of the skin (probably occasioned by the wax contained in the linen) was chocolate. The eyelids were partially separated from each other, and as exposure to the air occasioned deliquescence of the saline matter, of which evidences were abundant over the surface of the body, as well as upon the linen cloths, it shone brightly, and in the socket gave somewhat the appearance of the living eye. The forehead and upper portion of the head were almost entirely denuded, the skin and integuments having been converted into adipocere, and detached from the skull. No hair whatever remained. On the chin, however, there were small traces of beard. The head was that of an aged man, somewhere between seventy and eighty years of age. In the mouth



drawn & etched by Geo. Cruikshank - 1852

— Bishop Lynderode —
(1446.)

had been placed a mass of tow dipped in wax, upon removing which the remains of two incisor teeth of the lower jaw fell out, and the remains of two molar teeth, exceedingly worn down, were found in their sockets. The gums were perfect and soft, surrounding the small remains of the alveolar processes, which had by age nearly entirely disappeared. The trunk and extremities were not so well preserved as the head; the flesh of these parts had been converted into adipocere, and it separated from the bones, which had a blackened appearance. The bones of the trunk had fallen from their articulations, and constituted a *débris* of the body. From the whole there was emitted a *foetid* odour. Mr. Scharf, Jun. took various drawings of the several stages of the examination, and these will be engraved to accompany a full report of the proceedings, together with an examination of the evidences offered to establish the identity of the body found with that of the celebrated author of the *Provinciale*, bishop Lyndewode. As these will appear in the *Archæologia*, in a combined report by the Committee of the Society of Antiquaries, of which Mr. Pettigrew was a member, he abstained from entering into the subject in this place; but as he felt desirous that no discovery of any importance connected with archæology should take place without being communicated to the Association, he had brought it under the notice of the meeting.

Dr. Lyon Playfair had kindly made analyses of various portions of the cloths connected with the mummy, and extracted from them a quantity of dark-coloured wax. He was unable to detect the presence of any metallic salts, such as are now employed for antiseptic processes. Common salt, and salts of lime, were mixed with the cloths, but in such small quantities that they were no doubt derived from the mortar, or existed as impurities in the cloth. A small quantity of ammoniacal salt was found, but this had obviously been a product of decomposition of the animal matter. The preservation of the body was therefore entirely derivable from the exclusion of the air and absorption of moisture by the cere cloth with which it was enveloped.

In drawing his account of the St. Stephen's mummy to a close, Mr. Pettigrew took the opportunity of referring to the extraordinary remarks made in respect to the examination by Mr. Edward Hawkins, the Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum. That gentleman had thought proper, in the worst possible taste, and in the worst possible spirit, to denounce the examination as a desecration of the remains of the ecclesiastic; and, singularly enough, to call upon the Society of Antiquaries to protest against the proceeding. That venerable body, however, showed the sense they entertained of the proposition, by unanimously voting the thanks of the Society to Mr. Pettigrew for his communication. Mr. Hawkins has altogether failed in showing that any improper or unnecessary examination was effected, or that any desecration of the human

remains has been occasioned by the removal of the body from a hole in the window seat to a respectful interment in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, to which place it had been consigned, and the following entry, drawn up by Mr. Pettigrew, inserted in the register of the Abbey:—

“William Lyndewode, Keeper of the Privy Seal to Henry VI, and Bishop of St. David’s from 1442 to 1446. He died 22nd Oct. 1446, aged between 70 and 80 years. Found in the under chapel of St. Stephen’s, 17th Jan. 1852.”

Had observations so futile as those by Mr. Hawkins been made by any one not holding a public situation, which rendered it his duty to examine and inquire into any circumstances tending to elucidate the history, arts, manufactures, customs, etc., of our forefathers, they might have been considered as unworthy of reply or remark, but coming from one who is the conservator of mummies from Egypt, Peru, Mexico, etc.; and of the remains from barrows, etc., scattered over our island, contained in our national establishment, they cannot but excite astonishment.¹

Mr. Planché read a paper on the manufacture of tapestry, and on the age and subjects of some celebrated specimens. He also exhibited, by the kindness of Mr. Colnaghi, some beautiful examples, which were referred for further consideration.

Mr. Black also exhibited a remarkably fine specimen of tapestry, preserved in the Rolls Office. It represented Penelope, and was of the time of the close of the fifteenth century.

Mr. Carrington made further remarks on the brass of John Trembras of Penkevil, Cornwall.

¹ Certain newspapers and literary journals have also been excited to join in the outcry, and even the *Gentleman’s Magazine* has thought proper to increase the folly by some puerile, or rather senile, remarks in its pages. In the number for March, it is said: “The sentiments of many sincere students of antiquity do not entirely sympathise with the scientific operations of Mr. Pettigrew when carried beyond the province of archæology into those of surgery and anatomy. There are many, prejudiced it may be, who attach some sanctity to the grave, and consider that the remains of a Christian bishop should be treated with greater respect than an Egyptian mummy.” Again: “We think a check may fairly be placed upon that undue curiosity which is ready to violate the tomb, and burst the cerements of the dead; and which has heretofore, in too many instances, been indulged to an extent at once useless and unjustifiable.” This may be an example of very fine writing for the pages of the ancient journal, but the observations do not apply to the examination made by Mr. Pettigrew. No one, except Mr. Hawkins and the editor of the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, can discover any surgery or anatomical exercise in the inspection that was made; and if the taking of a cast of the face be an act of desecration, then how is it that we invariably recur to that operation when we desire to preserve the resemblance of those whom we love and venerate in the highest degree? The authorities at the Houses of Parliament, and the Society of Antiquaries, are satisfied, and have expressed their opinion that the examination was conducted with the greatest propriety and ability; and they also conceive that they would have been remiss in their duty had they not, as far as was in their power, availed themselves to gain information on so interesting and extraordinary an occasion.

FEBRUARY 25.

The following were elected associates :—

Rev. Augustus Fred. Pettigrew, M.A., of 18 Alfred-place, Brompton.

Rev. Samuel Thomas Pettigrew, M.A., of Attleborough, Norfolk.

The following presents were received, and thanks voted for the same :

From the Earl of Ellesmere : Guide to Northern Archæology, by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen ; edited by the earl of Ellesmere. London : 1848. 8vo.

From the Cambrian Archæological Association : Archæologia Cambrensis ; a Record of the Antiquities of Wales and its Marches. London : 1850-1. 2 vols. 8vo.

— Supplement to the same. 1851. 8vo.

Mr. Yewd communicated some particulars regarding Lamb's Conduit and Spring Head, which were referred for arrangement with the papers relating to city antiquities.

Mr. Davis laid before the Association an interesting document, being a bill of Thos. Berthelet, printer to king Henry VIII, for books sold and bound, and for statutes and proclamations furnished to the government in the years 1541, 2, and 3. (See Original Documents, No. 1, pp. 44-52, *ante*.)

The rev. Beale Poste communicated further observations on the coins of Cunobeline. (See pp. 9-17, *ante*.)

Mr. H. Syer Cuming made the following remarks on pot-hooks and hangers :—

“The most simple and primitive mode of suspending the boiler and cooking-pot over the fire, is probably that adopted by some nations of the East, and also by the wandering tribes of gipsies, who form a pyramidal crane, by means of three strong stakes driven into the ground, and tied together at top, with a line dropping from the middle, to which the handle of the vessel is secured. This fashion must present many inconveniences, for the cord or line cannot be readily lengthened or shortened, as occasion may require, and, besides, it must be liable to break with the weight of the vessel, and to perish from being constantly exposed to the flames.

“In the huts of the Esquimaux, we find strong wooden bars projecting from the side walls, upon which their coffin-shaped *ootkooseeks* or cooking-pots are suspended over chafing-dishes of burning oil, by means of lines of sinew, which pass through each corner of the vessels.¹ But the same disadvantage is observable in this mode as in the gipsy method—the pot must remain always at the same distance from the fire. To obviate this

¹ An engraving of the suspended pot and chafing-dish is given in Parry's second voyage, London, 1824.

inconvenience, we see certain nations contriving a rack of wood, provided with several deep notches or teeth on one side, upon which the handle of the vessel can be hung. The Laplander erects a frame about his fire with four stout uprights forked at top, and two horizontal bars, across which a third stake is laid, and from which is pendent a wooden rack, hooked down one side, so that the cooking vessel may be raised or lowered as necessity may require. An almost exactly similar contrivance, but of ruder fabrication, is found in the dwellings of the Kamtchadales of Northern Asia. There is reason to believe that wooden racks, much like those of the Lapps and Kamtchadales, were in use among the ancient inhabitants of Britain, and called in the Cymroeg tongue *bachau crochan*, i.e. pot-hooks, for traces of such contrivances have existed in the Britannic islands until a comparatively late period. In the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, at Edinburgh, is preserved a wooden *crocan* or crook, used anciently in the Hebrides for hanging pots over the fire. It was presented in 1787, by Mr. Donald M'Intosh, who describes it as then almost out of use.

"The above contrivances, though rude, were effectual; and the fashion of suspending certain vessels over the fire, seems to have spread far and wide, both amongst savage and civilized nations. The Romans, among others, adopted it. Their two most important culinary vessels were the *cacubus* or cooking pot, and the *ahenum* or boiler, for heating water. The former was placed immediately upon the fire, or on a *tripus* or trivet, whilst the latter was suspended above the *caminus* or fire-place, probably by means of a hook and chain, in the same way as is still practised in Italy, where the *catena da cammino*, literally the chimney-chain, is frequently to be seen. At Pompeii was found an *ahenum* of bronze, with a bail-handle, at the top of which was a round eye to receive the *cremaster* or hook, by which it was hung over the fire. In the spring of 1832, an exceedingly interesting discovery of Roman remains was made at Stanford Bury, in Bedfordshire; amongst the antiquities was a tripedal pot-hook and hanger of iron, four feet three inches high. It consisted of three curved legs, turning on a swivel at the top. Beneath the upper part was fixed a massive ring, from which depended a strong hook with rings, and to these was attached a *catena*, formed of bar-links with broad ends, held together by rings, the lower bar terminating in a *cremaster* or hook for the cooking vessel. It is conjectured that this example was for camp service.¹

"Whilst it remained the custom amongst our ancestors to kindle the fire upon the open hearth in the centre of the apartment, the trivet was

An account of this discovery is given in Brayley's "Graphic Illustrator," London, 1834, p. 378; and a print of the tripod was published in the "Transactions of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society." See also C. R. Smith's "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. ii, Part ii, p. 28.

much employed for the support of culinary vessels; but when in the twelfth century the fuel began to be confined within narrower bounds than it had previously been, the side walls and back of the fire-place offered a strong and convenient means of fixing an horizontal bar or crane, from which a rope,¹ chain, or rod might be hung, with a hook at the extremity, for the purpose of supporting the weighty kettle over the burning logs. This contrivance was known through after ages under the various names of crook, ratten-crook, racen, racking-crook, reeking-crook, reckan or reckon-creeak, pot-clame, *i.e.* pot-claw; pot-clep, clips, kelp, gauberts, trammel, pot-hangles, pot-hook-and-hanger, cauldron-rack, etc. The horizontal bar in the chimney was called the randle, rendle or rannel-balk, ready-pole, gay-pole, clovel, cotteril, back-bar, etc. At first the perpendicular rod or chain was of a fixed length, but a great improvement was subsequently devised, in the construction of a movable rack and catch, by which means the kettle or other vessel might be lowered or elevated, as appeared necessary to the officiating cook. This contrivance is exhibited in several manuscripts of the fifteenth century. In one of the Harleian manuscripts (No. 4375), of the time of Edward IV (1461-1483), there is a delineation of a dining-room and kitchen; the latter apartment has a lofty fire-place, the embers blazing fiercely on the hearth; and above them, depending from the centre of the chimney, appears a long rack with teeth on one side, and on the hook at the base hangs a hemispherical pot. In Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* (Part v), is a print from a manuscript in the British Museum (Royal MS. 15, D. 1), executed about 1470, which represents a scene in the history of Tobit. It is the interior of an apartment. Tobit is asleep on a couch or bed at the back of the room, and his wife is seated in front of the hearth, on which is burning a wood fire, and over it depends a large-toothed rack, like the one just mentioned, and on the hook is placed the kettle. In a manuscript of the time of Henry VIII, in the Cottonian library, inscribed '*An inventorye of all the goodes and cattells, late Richarde Fermers in the manor of Estone*', mention is made among the '*kitchyn*' items, of '*a paire of pott-hookes; 3 hangers of ierne, for pottes to hang on*'.² The strong rack-formed pot-hook and hanger or trammel is found introduced into manuscripts, paintings, and engravings, down to the end of the 17th century."

Mr. Cuming exhibited an elegant example of the trammel, of the time of William III, which in general form, he observed, resembled those in use at a much earlier period.

"It is of polished iron, two feet three inches long when slid up, and three

¹ Pennant, in his "*Voyage to the Hebrides, 1772*," speaks of seeing, in the village of Kinloch, Isle a Rum, a hut, in the chimney of which hung a rope for the pottage-pot.

² See Strutt's "*Horda*," iii, p. 65.

feet six inches when extended to its greatest length. Upon the top of the perpendicular bar is a strong ring to hang to the hook, which was attached to the crane or cross-bar in the chimney. The rack is surmounted by the figures of a man and woman, very rudely engraved. The male figure is habited in an ample square-cut coat and high-heeled shoes, and the female has a stiff bodice tightly laced down the front, with her dress swelling from the hips. The party of whom this trammel was purchased, asserted that the images were those of Adam and Eve; but it might be more correct to suppose them the effigies of the butler and cook, who here stand, like the classic Lateranus and Fornax, as guardian genii of the hearth and oven. Upon one side of the rack, near the top, is inserted a piece of brass, on which is engraved the initials RM DH DH; and on the lower part of the rack are the letters HHD ANNO X (*i.e.* Christi) 1767. This date refers probably to certain repairs then made, or to the arrival of some servant whose initials are also given; as the instrument itself is evidently the work of the time of William III. The lower end of the bar and movable catch are richly wrought with open scroll-work, like many of the key-bows of the beginning of the seventeenth century. At the point of the rack is a screw, to which the hook was attached for the pot, but it is now lost. This trammel is of German fabrication, and is said to have once belonged to the famous Desmond family, and to have been obtained from a castle in Kerry.

“The old trammels were not always so ornate in their design as the one we have just been considering. Those for more humble dwellings consisted frequently of a crane with depending bar pierced with holes, through which one end of the hook was passed, whilst the other end received the handle of the cooking vessel; and a very common hanger was a chain. In Hannah Woolley’s *Queen-like Closet; or Rich Cabinet, stored with all manner of Rare Receipts for Preserving, Candying, and Cookery; very Pleasant and Beneficial to all Ingenious Persons of the Female Sex*, London, 1684, there is a representation of a kitchen, in the chimney of which hang two square-linked chains, with kettles hooked to them.

“However unpretending the chimney-chain may appear, it is looked upon in Scotland as having some potent power over the ‘good people’, for it is stated in Brand’s *Popular Antiquities* (Bohn’s ed. iii, 318), that in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, it is believed that fairies ‘cannot enter into a house at night, if, before bedtime, the lower end of the crook, or iron chain, by which a vessel is suspended over the fire, be raised up a few links.’

“The trammel is yet occasionally to be seen swinging in the ample chimneys of our old farm-houses, reminding us of the fashions of by-gone days; and the ‘*Pot-hooks and Hangers*’ of our first copy-books still keep alive in our recollection the most simple form of this antique piece of fur-

niture. Because these names are associated with infancy, some may turn with contempt from the subject; but it is hoped that there may be others, who will pardon these rough notes, and receive in good part this brief lesson on '*Pot-hooks and Hangers*.'

The Rev. S. T. Pettigrew stated that he had just returned from visiting a place called Grimes's Graves, being in the Hundred of Grimeshow, Grimeshoo, or Grimeshoo (see Blomfield's History of Norfolk, vol. i, p. 469, first edit.), where he had opened two of the graves, and found in each some bones of animals, appearing to belong to the ox and the pig. The place was formerly the seat of war between the Saxons and the Danes. No other remains beyond those of the bones, laid in a bed of flint stones, were discovered. Those were in a cavity of a coffin-like shape. Mr. Pettigrew availed himself of this opportunity to visit Weting Church, which is remarkable in having a Norman font, choked up with whitewash, and within a preserve-pot for baptismal purposes, and a squire's pew with a comfortable fire-place. There are two niches, still holding remains of figures, which formerly occupied them. The Norfolk Archæological Society purpose examining some of the barrows in this neighbourhood, in the course of the ensuing summer.

Mr. S. R. Solly exhibited some sepulchral Roman remains, found in the churchyard of St. Stephen, in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's, Hertfordshire, in 1848. They consisted of a large glass *cinerary urn*, of an hexagonal shape, and furnished with a reeded handle, and a neck about half the diameter of the body of the vessel, which measured fourteen inches in height, and nine three-quarters in diameter—calcined bones and ashes were found within it; an *unguentarium* of globular shape and long neck, measuring nearly six inches in length: it contained a fluid when found, which was unfortunately emptied out, and lost by the workmen at the time of the discovery. A lamp of fictile ware, of a reddish colour, but not that which is generally known as Samian ware. These, together with a *præfericulum*, a *patera*, two *cymbia*, and a small cup of black pottery, formed the number of articles discovered; and they have been figured by the Rev. T. Faulkner, secretary, and described by Mr. M. H. Bloxam, and communicated to the St. Alban's Architectural Society.

Mr. Davis exhibited various specimens of the coinage during the reign of Charles I, among which were a very fine example of the twenty shilling piece, and the Oxford crown, R. 2. There was also a Newark siege shilling, of the lozenge shape. In addition to these, Mr. Davis exhibited two medallions of the monarch; one an oval, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{8}$, silver gilt. On the obverse, the bust of Charles, with long hair and fallen collar. Legend: CAROLVS. DG. MAG. BRI. FR. ET. HIB. RX. Reverse: Shield of the royal arms, within the garter, with the usual motto. This has an opening in the upper part to admit a ribbon, for

suspension. Another medallion of gold and enamel, exquisitely worked, of an oval shape, $\frac{5}{8}$ by $\frac{1}{2}$ in. : it has a loop for suspension. The king is represented on the obverse with long hair, falling laced-collar, and ribbon of the garter across the breast. On the reverse, C.R. surmounted by a crown, and enclosed within a wreath, of a green colour on white ground. These medallions are conjectured to have been worn by the partizans of the king, and those attached to his memory; or, it may be, as memorials of distinguished services rendered to the monarch.

Mr. Latham laid before the Association the silver penny of Elizabeth, which is like the twopence, but without the two dots or points behind the head. (See Leake, 254.)

Mr. Just communicated to the Association that he had been lately engaged in making an actual survey of the remains of the Roman military road within Westmoreland, and that he entertained no doubt he should be able, most clearly, to establish its direction to the wall, or some station in the vicinity. He has since forwarded to the Society some observations, the result of his investigation (see pp. 35-43, *ante*); and has also kindly promised a detailed account, from time to time, of the progress of his inquiries. He also communicates that he had lately seen at Kirkby Thore (Calleva? of the Romans) an immense number of Roman coins, fibulæ, styles, intaglios, bracelets, etc., in iron and in bronze, and promises, if possible, to send a particular account of them to the Association.

MARCH 10.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Statement and Report of the Auditors was received, and ordered to be printed :—

RECEIPTS.		£	s.	d.
1851.				
Life and Annual Subscriptions.....		339	19	0
<i>Donations in aid of Illustration of Journal:</i>				
Llewellyn Jewitt, Esq.£2	2	0		
George Milner, Esq.	1	1	0	
<hr/>				
Sir O. Mosley, Bart., woodcuts of Rolleston Seal; Cross at Rolleston; and Sir E. Mosley's Tomb.				
T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., woodcuts of Ashbourn and Repton Grammar Schools.		3	3	0
E. Pretty, Esq., etching, 4 plates.				
H. W. King, Esq. do. 3 do.				
A. H. Burkitt, Esq., do. 1 do.				
Rev. J. Deans, plate and plan of Melbourn Church; and woodcut of Queen Othrid.				
Rev. B. Poste, woodcuts of Coins of Cunobeline. Donations of £1 each in aid of the illustration of City Antiquities: T. F. Armistead, Esq., A. Ash- pitel, Esq., C. Baily, Esq., T. F. Baily, Esq., C. Bridger, Esq., W. A. Combs, Esq., R. H. Cullum, Esq., F. H. Davis, Esq., H. Duesbury, Esq., J. Ellis, Esq., N. Gould, Esq., R. H. Fisher, Esq., T. Lott, Esq., W. Newton, Esq., T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., S. R. Solly, Esq., E. Stock, Esq., R. Tress, Esq., W. Wansey, Esq., A. White, Esq., W. Yewd, Esq.		21	0	0
By Derby Congress.....		14	3	6
By Anniversary Dinner		32	0	0
Received on account of City Antiquities.....		32	10	0
Sale of Publications		31	5	10
<hr/>				
To Balance due to the Treasurer		£474	1	4
			46	19 10
<hr/>				
		£521	1	2

PAYMENTS.		£	s.	d.
1851.				
Printing and binding Journals, Nos. xxiv to xxvii inclusive		239	11	6
Illustrations to the same		131	13	9
Rent of Rooms		14	14	0
Stationery		2	19	9
Advertisements and Postage.....		17	0	0
Collector and Agent, for Delivery of Journals		33	14	2
Purchase of Books, Carriage of Antiquities, Inspection of City and other Antiquities...		40	18	0
Gratuities to Servants, and Petty Expenses of the Treasurer, Secretaries, and Regis- trar		8	10	0
Paid on Account of Anniversary Dinner.....		32	0	0
<hr/>				
		£521	1	2

Balance due 1850-1	£67	1	11
Ditto " 1851.....	46	19	10
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	£114	1	9

Examined, March 9th, 1852.

R. HORMAN FISHER }
GEORGE R. WRIGHT } *Auditors.*

Auditors' Report.

WE, the undersigned auditors of the accounts of the BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, for the year 1851, having carefully examined the same, and inspected the vouchers and receipts, do report that it appears that the sum of £474 : 1 : 4 has been received, and the sum of £521 : 1 : 2 disbursed. There is consequently a balance of £46 : 19 : 10 due to the treasurer, which, added to the balance due also to the treasurer at the audit of 1850-1, amounting to £67 : 1 : 11, leaves the Association indebted to him the sum of £114 : 1 : 9. The excess of expenditure over the income has arisen chiefly from the demands made on account of the illustrations of the *Journal*; and when it is considered that the last published volume contains no less than forty-four plates, besides numerous wood-cuts, it is only remarkable that the deficiency should not have been greater; and we cannot withhold expressing our satisfaction at the strictly economical manner in which the affairs of the Association have been carried out. At the same time we think it our duty to call the attention of the members, generally, to the necessity of increasing the number of the associates by their individual exertions, to enable the Council to continue so effective a publication. And we would further suggest to the Council the propriety of taking some steps towards making the *Journal* more generally known to the public.

It is very gratifying to learn that during the past year fifty-six new associates have been elected; whereas, by the retirement of twenty members, and the death of seven, twenty-seven only have been lost to the Association, and an acquisition consequently made of twenty-nine members; amongst whom, it cannot fail to be perceived, are many noble and distinguished names.

We beg also to draw attention to the necessity of again calling upon those whose subscriptions are in arrear (being one hundred and fifty-seven in number), or removing their names from the list of associates, that the resources of the Society may be thereby more efficiently estimated.

We cannot close our report without reverting to the clear and careful manner in which the accounts of the Association are kept by the treasurer, to whom, it is our opinion, the Society is deeply indebted.

R. HORMAN FISHER.

GEO. ROBT. WRIGHT.

March 9th, 1852.

The treasurer made the following statement relating to associates deceased, withdrawn, and elected :—

Associates deceased :—

Michael Bland, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.	J. Durancé George, esq.
The Earl of Derby, K.G.	Michael Jones, esq., F.S.A.
Lieutenant-Colonel Davis	Richard Percival, esq., F.S.A.
Joshua Edwards, esq.	

Associates withdrawn :—

Mark Boyd, esq.	J. H. Hurdie, esq.
John Britton, esq., F.S.A.	Thomas Little, esq.
H. D. Carden, esq.	J. L. Oldham, esq.
C. H. Cornwall, esq.	J. H. Pattison, esq.
G. C. Cotsworth, esq.	Edward Poste, esq.
Edward Cresy, esq.	E. S. Reader, esq.
Joseph Cust, esq.	Samuel Simpson, esq.
J. E. Davis, esq.	Dr. E. A. Turley
Mrs. Forster	Thomas Whitehead, esq.
John Harris, esq.	Matthew Wyatt, esq.

Associates elected :—

William Henry Barlow, esq.	Lord Leigh
J. Osborne Bateman, esq.	James Lewis, esq.
Miss Emily Beaumont	Charles Robert Lindley, esq.
Thomas Brewer, esq.	Rev. Rosingrave Macklin, M.A.
J. J. Briggs, esq.	Joseph Middleton, esq.
William Banting, jun., esq.	Robert Morrish, esq.
Thomas Brigstocke, esq.	W. Eaton Mousley, esq.
Rev. T. Clement Broughton, M.A.	William Needham, esq.
T. N. Brushfield, esq.	His Grace the Duke of Newcastle
Rev. W. Spring Casborne	Lionel Oliver, esq.
Charles N. Colville, esq., M.P.	Rev. T. W. Peile, D.D.
W. M. Cooper, esq.	H. C. Pidgeon, esq.
J. G. Cottingham, esq.	E. S. Chandos Pole, esq.
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.	Rev. M. Poole, M.A.
Augustus Oakley Deacon, esq.	His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G.
Rev. Joseph Deans, M.A.	Charles Read, esq.
Henry Dearsley, esq.	Mrs. Herbert Rice
Cobbett Derby, esq.	Thomas Saunders, esq., F.S.A.
Robert Donne, esq.	J. B. Scott, esq.
Henry Duesbury, esq.	James Silburn, esq.
Rev. J. R. Errington, M.A.	Thomas Smith, esq.
Edward M. Gibbs, esq.	George Swindells, esq.
Thomas Gunston, esq.	Alfred Thompson, esq.
Lawrence Heyworth, esq., M.P.	Stephen I. Tucker, esq.
Charles H. Hingeston, esq.	Gladwin Turbutt, esq.
George Hyperoff, esq.	J. C. White, esq.
George Vere Irving, esq.	D. B. Wingrove, esq.
Rev. J. Horner Jenkins, M.A.	John Wood, esq.

Honorary foreign members :—

Herr Habel, Schierstein, Biberich	Mons. Gustave Dupont, Caen
Professor Klein, Mainz	Docteur Pellerin, Caen
Signor Gaetano Cara, Cagliari	Docteur Mancel, Caen
The Canon Giovanni Spano, Cagliari	

Correspondents :—

Mr. Fisher Hodgson, Carlisle	Mr. John Rook, Whitehaven
Mr. Thomas Brown, Banff Castle.	

The thanks of the meeting were then voted to the Auditors and to the Treasurer; also to Sir Oswald Mosley, bart., for the able manner in which he had performed the duties of the office of president during the past year, and to the Secretaries, Registrar, and Council for their services. A vote of thanks was also given to Mr. Lott for his particular attention to the Association in their examination of the city antiquities.

The Chairman appointed Messrs. Armistead and Wright scrutators; and the Society proceeded to ballot for officers and council for the ensuing year, whereupon the following were declared to be elected:—

PRESIDENT.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

SIR WILLIAM BETHAM, M.R.I.A.	R. MONCKTON MILNES, M.P.
SIR FORTUNATUS DWARRIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
JAMES HEYWOOD, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.	S. R. SOLLY, F.R.S., F.S.A.
JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.	SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

CHARLES BAILY, F.S.A. | J. R. PLANCHÉ, F.S.A.

Hydrographical Secretary—CAPT. BULLOCK, R.N.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence—W. BEATTIE, M.D., MEM. INST. FRANCE.

Registrar, Curator, and Librarian—ALFRED WHITE.

COUNCIL.

Charles Ainslie	James O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Arthur Ashpitel, F.S.A.	Thomas Lott, F.S.A.
W. H. Black	W. Calder Marshall, R.A.
Alexander H. Burkitt, F.S.A.	Major A. J. Moore, F.R.S., F.S.A.
H. Syer Cuming	H. C. Pidgeon
F. H. Davis, F.S.A.	Richard Tress
Henry Duesbury	William Wansey, F.S.A.
George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A.	William Yewd
Nathaniel Gould, F.S.A.	

AUDITORS.

Walter Hawkins, F.S.A. | John Whichcord, F.S.A.

Thanks were then given to the Chairman, who announced that the next Congress would be held at Newark, under the presidency of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle; and the meeting adjourned to dine together and celebrate the anniversary.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JULY 1852.

ON THE GUILDHALL OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

BY THOMAS BREWER, ESQ.

THE ravages of the Great Fire of London, in 1666, and the destruction attendant upon modern improvement, have unfortunately left but few edifices within the city which can claim an antiquity greater than that of the present Guildhall. It is much to be regretted that in a structure of such importance as the seat and centre of local authority, and of the administration of a wealthy and influential corporation, there is not more harmony subsisting between the several parts of the hall itself and the buildings connected with it. Though this circumstance affects, in some degree, the interest attendant upon its inspection, there are still features enough left to render it worthy of attentive examination, especially in connexion with some of the historical associations which properly belong to the place.

The citizens of London having been, from the earliest period, a self-governing community, have probably never been without a stated place of assemblage for municipal purposes, such as we understand under the name of a guildhall; indeed, there seems some reason to believe that a building of the kind existed as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor.¹ It has frequently been asserted that the Guildhall has always stood upon the *same site*; but this is clearly a mistake, as is apparent by the account given by

¹ Nichols's "Brief Account of Guildhall", 1819; p. 1.

Stow in his *Surveye of London*. Speaking of the street called Aldermanbury, he says: "This street tooke the name of Aldermans burie (which is to say, a court), there kept in their bery or courthall, now called the Guildhall, which hall of old time stode on the east side of the same streete, not *farre from the west ende of Guildhall now used*." In proof of the antiquity of this "old Aldermans bury, or court", he then quotes a deed by which Richard Renery, one of the sheriffs in the year 1189, gave to the church of St. Mary, at Osney, by Oxford, "certaine grounds and rents in *Aldermanbery* of London, as entered in the hustings of the Guildhall in London." Stow then adds: "This olde bery, court, or hall, continued, and the courts of the maior and aldermen were continually *holden there untill the new bery, court, or Guildhall that now is, was builded and finished*"; which hall was first begun to be founded in the year 1411, and was not fully finished in twenty years after. "I myselfe," he says, "have seene the ruines of the old court-hall in Aldermanbery-streete, which of late hath been employed as a carpenter's yard," etc.

It would be easy to quote from the records of the corporation, and the ancient chronicles of London, many events of municipal interest and importance which took place in this *old* guildhall; but I proceed, on this occasion, to notice the erection of the present hall. Stow, in another part of his *Survey*, says: "Thomas Knoles, grocer, maior, 1410, with his brethren the aldermen, began to new build the Guildhall in London; and, instead of an olde little cottage in *Aldermanberie-street*, made a faire and goodly house, *more neare unto St. Laurence church* in the Jurie."

In this passage, not only is the alteration in the site of the building again mentioned, but it is also evident from it that the new hall was far more spacious than the old one. And the same thing appears by a subsequent notice, in which Stow, quoting Fabian, says: "The same was made of a little cottage, a *large and great house*, as now it standeth, towards the charges whereof the companies gave large benevolences: also offences of men were pardoned for sums of money towards this worke: extraordinary fees were raysed, fines, amercementes, and other thinges employed during seaven yeares, with a continuation thereof three yeares more, all to bee employed to this building."

The celebrated Richard Whittington, through his executors, was a considerable benefactor to the work ; and other eminent citizens also contributed liberally towards it.

Some of the most striking events connected with the history of the present Guildhall, independently of those of municipal or local interest only, are the following :

1483, 24th June.—The crafty attempt of Richard III (through the duke of Buckingham) to beguile the assembled citizens into an approval of his usurpation of the regal dignity.

1546.—The trial of the youthful and accomplished Anne Askew, on a charge of heresy, preferred by command of Henry VIII, bishop Bonner, and others of his bigoted councillors, which ended in her condemnation, her torture on the rack, and her martyrdom in the flames of Smithfield on 16th July.

1547.—The trial of the earl of Surrey, one who was distinguished by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier, and who, to gratify the malice of Henry VIII, was convicted of high treason.

1553, 13th Nov.—The trial and condemnation of the ill-fated lady Jane Grey and her husband.

1554, 17th April.—The trial of sir Nicholas Throgmorton on a charge of being implicated in sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion against queen Mary ; a trial which is described as the most interesting, perhaps, on record, for the exhibition of intellectual power, and remarkable for the courage displayed by the jury in returning a verdict in opposition to the despotic wishes of the court, though at the expense of imprisonment and fines.

1606, 28th March.—The trial and conviction of the Jesuit Garnet for participating in the gunpowder plot of Guido Fawkes and his associates.

1642, 5th Jan.—Charles I attended at a common council, and claimed their assistance in apprehending Hampden and the four other members of the House of Commons whose patriotic opposition to the king's measures had led him to denounce them as guilty of high treason, and who had taken shelter in the city to avoid arrest.

During the civil war and the time of the Commonwealth, the Guildhall became the arena of many an important incident connected with the political events of the times ; and

at a later period, when the government of James II had become so intolerable that he was forced to abdicate, Guildhall was the spot where the lords of parliament assembled, and agreed on a declaration in favour of the assumption of regal authority by the prince of Orange, afterwards William III.

Being the place where the citizens have for ages been accustomed to assemble, not only to transact municipal business, but also freely to discuss public grievances, to consider and suggest remedies for great social evils, and to promote the general interests of humanity,—many other events of deep public interest and importance might, if space allowed, be mentioned as having emanated from this celebrated spot.

Guildhall has been famous also for the many sumptuous entertainments which have been given in it to royalty, and other personages of distinction, at various times, apart from the annual festivity which marks the entrance into office of each lord mayor. From the banquet given, in 1421, to Henry V and his queen, on the successful termination of his campaigns in France,—when sir Richard Whittington, in addition to the luxuries provided for his royal guests, is said to have gratified and astonished the king by throwing into a fire bonds for which his majesty was indebted to the citizens to the amount of £60,000,—down to the reign of her present majesty, nearly every sovereign of this country has honoured the city by accepting of its hospitality in the Guildhall. Charles II showed so much fondness for the civic entertainments, that he dined there as many as nine times in the course of his reign.

The immense pile of building now used for corporate purposes, is of various styles and dates; indeed, the whole interest of the antiquary is centered in the magnificent hall, with its noble, well-preserved porch, and the eastern moiety of its ancient and beautiful crypt; and on fragments of the original architecture in the western crypt, the Court of Exchequer, and on the substructure of the latter, now a passage leading to various workshops and offices. The subsequent additions of law courts, council chambers, and all the necessary offices for conducting such varied and important municipal business, have too often been obtained by the removal of ancient and beautiful portions of the

original structure;¹ and however commodious and handsome these apartments may be, we may pass them over with little comment. The immense and highly-interesting collection of charters and records must, however, be mentioned. Perhaps no city can boast so extensive and unbroken a series of archives.

THE PORCH.

The chief approach to the hall is by the spacious porch on the south side, erected after the mayor's court and other chambers above stairs, in the reign of Henry VI. Before the present front to the hall was built by Mr. Dance, in 1789, this porch stood far in advance of the main body of the building. Mr. Nichols, in his *Brief Account of Guildhall*, says: "We are now not able to form a complete idea of it in its original state, having been materially altered either in the reign of Elizabeth or James I. It consisted of two stories. The chief features were, a large arch of entrance, sustained at the sides by columns having enriched spandrils, with shields containing the arms of England and of Edward the Confessor; two ornamented niches on each side, with figures; and two other niches, with figures in the upper story. The four lower figures represented Religion, Fortitude, Justice, and Temperance: their attitudes were easy and elegant, and the sculpture good. The figures in the upper story represented Law and Learning, and were separated by windows and compartments. The porch terminated with a straight parapet and quatrefoil ornaments, over which were placed the royal arms of England, in a heavy square frame supported by scrolls. Round the lower part of the balcony were the arms of thirty-four of the city companies."²

It is worthy of being remarked, that the figures above mentioned, being taken down when the present front was added to the hall in 1789, lay in obscurity in a cellar until alderman Boydell induced the corporation, in 1794, to permit them to pass into the hands of Banks, the sculptor,

¹ The removal of the chapel which stood to the east of the principal entrance, the site of which is now occupied by the law courts, must ever be regretted by the lover of ancient architecture.

² An engraving of the old front of the hall may be seen prefixed to Nichols's account. This engraving is from a drawing by J. Schnecklie, 1788.

who held them in great estimation as works of art, and retained them in his possession till his death. In 1809 they were purchased, at the sale of his effects, for £100, by Mr. Bankes, M.P. for Corfe Castle. Sir Richard Westmacott, in some *Observations on the Progress of the Art of Sculpture in England*,¹ eulogises these statues as among the choicest specimens of English mediæval art; and a notice of them, and correspondence respecting them, in which Mr. Lott took a part, appeared in the *Athenæum*² of the same year.

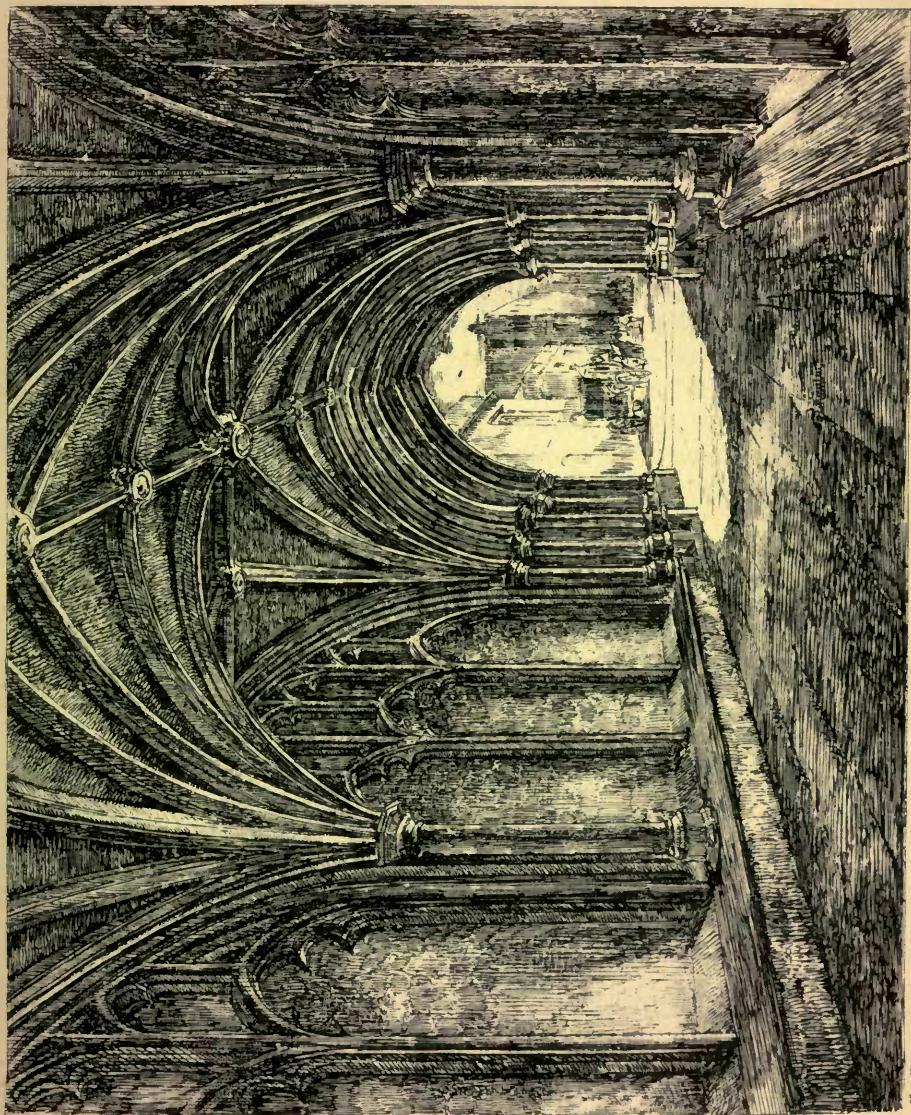
The porch is situated on the south side of the hall, on the fourth, from the west, of the eight compartments into which the hall is divided. It presents to the small quadrangle in front of the hall a fine, bold, double arch, of which the inner portion alone is of the original work. The fine and effective receding mouldings spring from slender pillars. Internally, the porch consists of two divisions; a single pillar, like those in the archway, on each side, supporting the vaulting ribs, which, in two orders, form the groined roof. (See Plate 18.) At the intersections are bosses, sculptured with religious emblems, armorial devices, and fanciful designs. Beginning at the centre boss to the south is a monogram, *xps*, for Christus. Then succeed the eagle of St. John, the arms of Edward the Confessor, the bull of St. Luke, the lion of St. Mark, the arms of France and England quarterly, the angel of St. Matthew, and the monogram *ihs*. The central boss, which seems to have been sculptured in foliage, has been destroyed to admit a pendant gas-burner. The other bosses contain designs of fanciful interweaved leaves and flowers, and monograms, principally that of *ihs*. Each compartment of the wall on either side is divided by mullions into three divisions, which again are subdivided at the head, the upper compartments being trefoiled, the lower cinquefoiled. Another boldly moulded arch admits to the

GREAT HALL,

the length of which is 153 feet, its breadth 50 feet, and its height 55 feet. The side walls are uniformly divided each into eight spaces by clusters of columns and mouldings

¹ Journal of Archæological Institute, vol. iii, p. 205.

² Athenæum, Oct. 24, Nov. 14, 28, 1846.



reaching from the pavement to the summit of the cornice, which terminated the elevation in its perfect state: their heights have two ranges of arches between panels, which give additional width to the piers. In the upper tier are handsome windows, which have been closed at various times for the convenience of placing monuments against the sides. The only one that remained on the south side was covered during the repairs and alterations effected about the year 1818. The lower story or dado differs but little in design from the upper. The arches are divided into compartments with tracery in their heads.

At each end of the hall, is a large Gothic window occupying the whole width, the details of which will be found worthy of attentive examination. The arches rest on short columns with capitals and bases, and retain in a perfect state their rich tracery. At the point of one of the arches is a shield with the arms of Edward the Confessor, and within quatrefoils in the spandrils other shields with arms. The former are repeated in the corresponding arch, but the latter differ. The modern painted glass, containing in the eastern window the royal arms, and in the western one the arms of the city, was executed by Collins, of the Strand. Beneath the eastern window, under appropriate canopies, and at the back of the spot where the ancient court of hustings is still holden, are statues of king Edward VI, king Charles I and queen Henrietta Maria. These statues stood in front of the Guildhall chapel before that edifice was removed, in 1822; they are said to be the work of an artist named Stone. It appears by an entry in the City records that the figure of Charles I originally occupied a place on the Royal Exchange. The statue of Edward VI is remarkable for its easy attitude and graceful dignity.

In the angles at the opposite end of the hall, on lofty octagonal pedestals, are the celebrated colossal figures of the giants Gog and Magog (sometimes called Gogmagog and Corinæus). They are each about 14 feet 6 inches in height, and are the work of a Captain Saunders, a celebrated carver in wood, who lived in King-street, and were executed about the year 1708. They were placed in their present position during the alterations of 1818, having formerly stood on each side of the steps leading to the

upper rooms, which steps were where Beckford's monument now stands, the monument then standing against the great western window. There is in one of the rooms above stairs a painting, presenting a good view of the interior of the hall before these alterations were made.

Three of the compartments on the north side of the hall, and one on the south, contain sculptured monuments erected at the expense of the corporation to the following distinguished persons; viz., admiral lord Nelson, by J. Smith, 1810; alderman Beckford, lord mayor in 1762 and 1769, by Moore; the earl of Chatham, by Bacon, 1782; the right hon. W. Pitt, by Bubb, 1813.

The original roof was constructed of timber, corresponding with similar buildings erected about the same period. It was destroyed in the Fire of London. The loss was irreparable. No representation of it is preserved; but it was probably (says Mr. Nichols) little inferior in richness of design and elegance, and excellence of execution and materials, to that of Westminster Hall. The main timbers and arches rested on the clusters of columns at the sides, which are now relieved from any weight, having only large shields placed over them, bearing the arms of the twelve principal companies.

After the destruction of the ancient roof, an additional story was raised to the same height or proportion of the summit of its lofty pitch; the upright walls, which before were only 35 feet in height, being now 20 feet higher; and eight large windows were added on each side, which admit the chief light given to the interior. The ceiling covering this, and rising from coves, is flat, divided into plain square panels. This departure from the original design was effected under the direction of sir Christopher Wren.

COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

Near to the head of the flight of steps opposite the porch, on the north side of the hall, is the apartment now known as the Court of Exchequer. Before the erection of the courts in the Guildhall-yard, it was called the King's Bench Court. It ranks next in antiquity to the great hall, having been built immediately after it, in the reign of

Henry VI, for the court of civic judicature called the Mayor's Court, the sittings of which are still held there. Stow says, "The foundation of the Mayor's Court was laid in the third year of the reign of Henry VI, and of the porch on the south side of the Mayor's Court in the fourth of the said king. Then was builded the mayor's chamber and the council chamber, with other rooms above the stairs." The executors of Whittington glazed some of the windows of the Mayor's Court, as well as of the great hall, on every one of which the arms of Whittington were placed.

Stow in another place, speaking of the habits and dresses formerly worn, says, "For a further monument of those late times, men may beholde the glasse windows of the Mayor's Court in the Guildhall above the stayrs: the mayor is there pictured sitting in habite, party coloured, and a hooode on his head; his sword-bearer before him with an hatte or cappe of maintenance; the common clearke and other officers bare headed, their hooodes on their shoulders."

Mr. Nichols, describing this court, says, "All that remains of its decorative features are two handsome niches and figures at one end, and a curiously ornamented square-headed doorway at the side near the entrance." He also says, "At the back of the judges' seats are paintings of Prudence, Justice, Religion, and Fortitude." Since he published his account, however, in 1819, so many alterations have been made that his description no longer accords with the present appearance of the court. There are now several paintings in it, the chief of them being a large picture presented by the late king of the French, representing the reception of an address from the City on his visiting this country in 1844. Behind this picture may be seen some remains of the ancient work.

THE CRYPT.

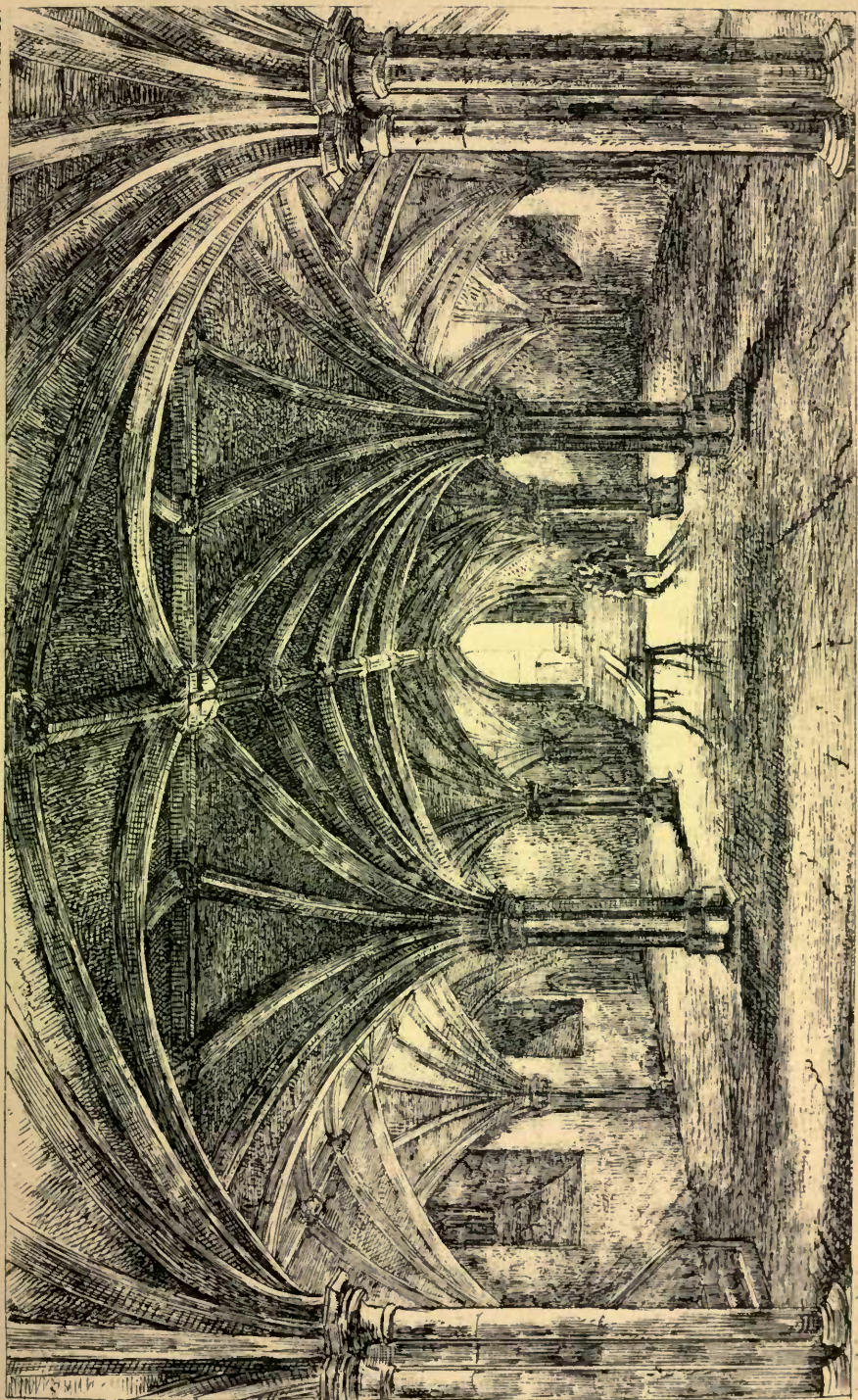
The following is Mr. Nichols's description of this interesting portion of the building:—

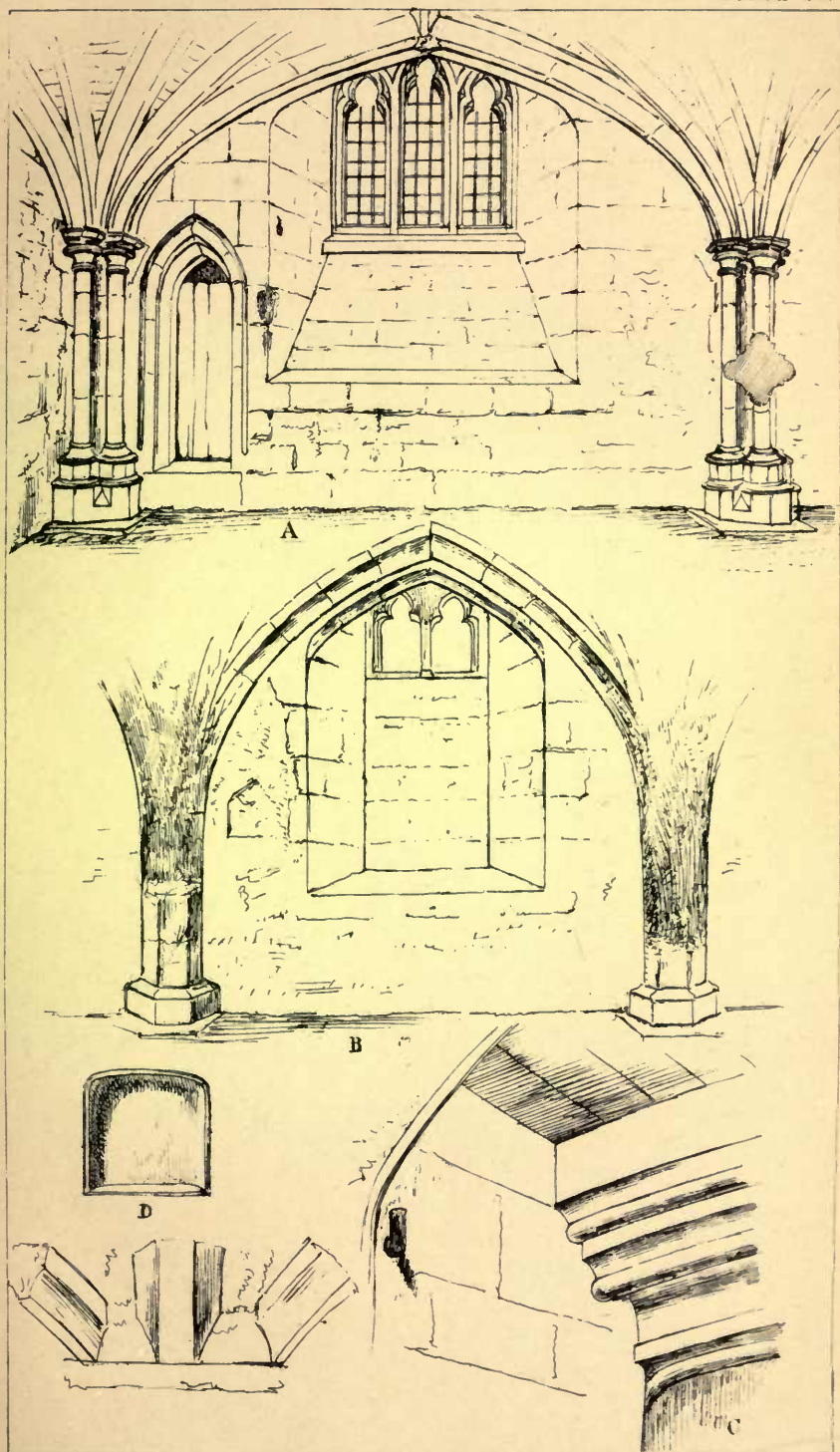
"The crypt upon which Guildhall is erected may be considered the finest and most extensive now remaining in London, and is not more ancient than the superstructure.

Of these kinds of buildings, and which are *not* connected with a sacred edifice, there can be few more elegantly designed, better constructed, or more ornamented, than the example now under consideration. It is likewise remarkable for the perfect condition of all its members, columns, arches, and groins. The crypt extended the whole length from east to west, and appears to have been always separated into nearly two equal parts by a substantial wall of masonry, having an ancient pointed door, by which only a communication between them was formed. It will be useless to conjecture the original intention of this division."

The eastern and perfect crypt, which extends to the centre of the hall, is separated into three aisles of equal width (see plate 19) by two rows of piers. The detached piers, of Purbeck marble, three in number on each side, consist of four small pillars, clustered, having plain but handsome capitals. The responds at the west end show that this crypt remains in its original state, and that it never extended further to the westward. The whole of the half piers correspond in design with the detached piers, and from them spring the groins which form the roof. At each intersection is a boss, with well sculptured roses, heads, and shields. The shields, in the centre aisle, bear the plain red cross of St. George, the patron saint of England; in the side aisles are others charged with the city arms, the bearing of Edward the Confessor, and with two swords saltier-wise.

The crypts were formerly lighted by windows high up from the floor, the windows of this crypt consisting of three divisions, with trefoiled heads. (In plate 20 will be seen the details of the windows of both crypts. Figure A, arrangement of window in the eastern crypt. Figure B, window at south-west of western crypt.) Several of them are still tolerably perfect, and retain the iron cross bars. Others have been walled up. At the east end is an arched entrance, of beautiful design, quite corresponding in character with the doorway on the north side of the hall, leading to the Council Chamber and Exchequer Court. There were two other entrances in the westward compartments of the north and south sides. That on the north side exhibits its original steps, but appears to have been of a less ornate character than the one opposite, which was





evidently approached from the outside by a doorway seen in the print prefixed to Mr. Nichols' description before alluded to. Of this entrance, the details may be pretty clearly made out, and the mouldings within the arch, in the side walls, are boldly marked (see plate 20, fig. c). The staples for hanging the doors still remain; and on the exterior of the opening there are discernible the bases and shafts of small columns, which appear to have formed an enriched entrance, agreeing with several exterior views, as shewn in old engravings.

Stow, as already has been mentioned, says, "*the porch on the south side of the Mayor's Court* was built in the fourth year of king Henry VI." To this porch, which still exists, the entrance on the north side of the crypt led; and it will be observed, that it has every appearance of having been a porch or entrance, having still, under both the outer and inner arch, staples for hanging doors or gates. This archway has been before alluded to as being a portion of the substructure of the Court of Exchequer.

The present side entrance to the crypt, to the east of the northern entrance, is formed out of the opening for a window. The height of the crypt, from the ground to the crown of the arches, is about thirteen feet. In the angles of the aisles, at the east end, are doors leading, in the one case, to the external tower, and in the other to a small octagonal groined chamber, the purpose of which it is not easy to conjecture. Just to the south of the eastern entrance, at about four feet from the floor, is a small shallow recess (fig. d), of good and original workmanship. The mark of a somewhat similar arrangement is seen in fig. b, plate 20.

This interesting crypt having been recently rescued from its undeserved obscurity, and undergone some slight restoration under the judicious direction of Mr. Bunning, has become an object of some attraction, and it is hoped the corporation may be induced at least to preserve it effectually from future misuse and decay.

It is not possible to point out with certainty what were its original uses, but it seems highly probable, from the elegance of its construction, that it was devoted to useful purposes. It may have been appropriated as a minor hall

of assembly for some corporate purposes, or even as a hall of entertainment.

The western crypt is in a mutilated state, and was of a very different construction. At what time, and under what circumstances, it came to its present condition, it is impossible to say. If a conjecture may be hazarded, it is not improbable that the fall of the roof at the Great Fire may have found this part less able to resist the shock, and it may have been at that time involved in ruin. From a careful inspection of the fragments which remain at intervals in the south and west walls, we may conclude that it was vaulted (see fig. E, plate 20); but a reference to fig. B, in the same plate, will show that it was very different in style to the other crypt. Its half piers were octagonal instead of being clustered; its windows were higher, were continued at the western end, were smaller, and of two compartments, except the middle window at the western end, which seems to have been of three lights, and, as well as the two light windows on either side of it, rather deeper than that on the south wall. No trace of the central piers is visible, the whole of the floor of the hall in this division being supported on brick piers and arches, and the quantity of timber and stores which fill the compartments, rendering examination a matter of much difficulty.

Such are the remaining ancient portions of this once splendid edifice; which, whether regarded as the theatre of many events of historical and national importance, or as the seat of government and scene of the hospitalities of one of the greatest and richest communities in the world, is in every way worthy the attention of the British Archaeological Association in its first visit to the city of London.

HISTORY OF THE BARBER-SURGEONS OF LONDON.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH
ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

[*Read at a meeting held in the Hall of the Company, Jan. 14th, 1852.*]

ASSEMBLED in the Hall of the Company of Barbers, formerly Barber-Surgeons, it cannot but be interesting to take a glance at the history connected with it. Barber-Surgeon is a name now even more extinct than the bandaged pole which formerly constituted the ensign of their shops, and which is still to be met with in some places in London, but more frequently in the country. I need hardly remind my auditors that this pole is typical of a surgical operation—bleeding—happily now not so often resorted to as formerly; for medical men, like many other classes of society, may be said to become more conservative as they increase in years, and are certainly more chary of the vital fluid than they were wont to be in former times. So common, indeed, was the practice, that Ward, in his *Diary*, remarks: “Physicians make bleeding as a prologue to the play.”

The conjunction of two such opposite functions as shaving and surgery may appear to us in the present day as a remarkable incongruity; but recourse to the records of former times will enable us, perhaps, to perceive the reasons which led to the union of “Barbery and Surgery”, as they are termed in various acts of parliament. The offices of the barber and the surgeon are alike manual; the very name of the surgeon, or chirurgeon, as in former times it was always written, implies its character; its derivation from the hand, *χείρ*, the hand, and *ἔργον*, a work, establishes it; but medicine and surgery in early times, regarded as one and indivisible, their practices were united, and assistants were called in to the performance of those manual services which were deemed essential by the medical practitioner. Thus, although the union of barbery and surgery may at first sight appear extraordinary, when we trace

back the history of the science, and consider what was its state in the earliest periods, and that the practice confined itself entirely to mere manual performances, exercised without any regard or attention to the operations of the animal economy, our surprise will cease. But we shall presently trace this matter further.

It is but reasonable to suppose that the practice of surgeons, stated by old Fuller as "necessary and ancient their profession ever since man's body was subject to enmity or casualty", may boast a greater antiquity than medicine, as accidents may be presumed to have occurred antecedent to internal diseases. Attention would further be directed, in the first instance, to the external phenomena of the body rather than to the disordered actions of the internal organs. And it is worthy of observation that the Greek word *ἵατρος*, the Latin synonym for which is *medicus*, has a distinct reference to the operation of the surgeon rather than to the hidden intentions of the physician. Plato uses the word *ἱατρεῖον* to express the surgery or physician's room where patients were received and attended to.

The Egyptian priesthood practised physic, but they were forbidden to attend to more than one disease, as we learn from Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus. The Brahmins of Hindostan were alike engaged, and it is possible that among the ancient Gauls, the Druids were also employed in the exercise of the medical art.

The earliest physicians to be looked upon as treating of medicine distinctly or separately, are to be found among the Greeks. They had their students for surgical appliances, as had also the Romans. Homer makes more than one allusion or reference to physicians to remedy wounds arising from darts or arrows. But Eustathius, the celebrated commentator on Homer, considers the art of healing to have been divided in his time into the two branches of medicine and surgery, the former of which was assigned to Podalirius, and the latter to Machaon. *Æsculapius* the father appears to have been a general practitioner, attending alike to medicine and surgery. We must, however, recollect that there is much of fable in all these accounts; but certainly Hippocrates, who was descended from Podalirius, practised both branches, as his writings amply testify.

About the eighth century the practice of surgery seems to have fallen into neglect, or to have lost reputation as a distinct branch of science, the whole merging into that of the physician, who took all cases under his own dominion.

It was not until the establishment of the medical schools, particularly that of Salerno, where examinations were required before license to practice would be granted in the divisions of medicine, surgery, and pharmacy, that those departments were properly attended to, yet they were not generally practised distinct from each other, at least in places beside that of Salerno. The professors in the celebrated schools of Padua and Bologna were alike professors of medicine and surgery. In our own country, upon the introduction of Christianity, medicine appears to have been entrusted to the monks and clergy. An interesting chapter in history might be formed by an account of the practice of medicine among the monks.¹

The practice of medicine by the monks and clergy almost universally prevailed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and it was not until the two professions of medicine and theology were found to interfere seriously with each other, that an edict was issued from the papal chair forbidding the pursuit of medicine by the clergy. It was under Louis VII that the Faculty of Medicine of Paris assumed a form of consequence in the university, the foundation of which is attributable to Charlemagne, and the attractions of the profession appear to have been so great, that the clerical physicians became neglectful of their sacred offices and spent most of their time in attending the lectures which were then delivered on the works of Hippocrates and Galen, and which formed a portion of the public exercises. The council of Tours, under pope Alexander III, issued an edict in 1163, forbidding the priests to quit their cloister or to exercise the profession: in consequence of which a few laymen were induced to enter upon the study; but these were refused to be received by the university without contracting a vow of celibacy, and after the course of their studies most of them became priests.

The priests continued to follow the profession of medicine in their own abodes, and to those of the sick to whom

¹ This subject is reserved for special notice in an article to be devoted to the history of medicine in the mediæval period.

ministrations were required, they sent their servants, who consisted chiefly of barbers occupied in shaving their heads, making the tonsure, etc. The external applications requisite in affections of the head often rendered necessary the shaving off the hair, and this, together with the common resort to bleeding and other minor operations, became the office of the servants of the priests. This appears to me to be the origin of the connexion between the barbers and surgeons.

The union of barbery and surgery I know has by some been conceived to be of German origin. It is astonishing how little cultivation was given in Germany to surgery or pharmacy, even as late as the sixteenth century. The surgeons and pharmacutists, or apothecaries, as they may be called, were chiefly barbers and impostors. The influence of Paracelsus, whose labours in chemistry and alchemy produced such extraordinary effects, tended much, doubtless, to the introduction of pretenders and impostors, who practised largely on the credulity of mankind. No German writer of any eminence in medicine is devoid of loud complaints against the ignorance of the apothecaries, and the practices of the mountebanks, surgeons, chemists, and Paracelsists, who deluded the public, and became the very pests of society. From Germany they migrated to almost every part of Europe, exercising their nefarious practices.

In the thirteenth century, the Italian universities admitted the lay students to equal privileges with the clerical; and, whilst the latter confined themselves to the practice of physic, the former undertook the capital operations of surgery. The first incorporation of surgeons took place under Louis IX, commonly known as St. Louis, who himself engaged in dressing the wounded soldiers of his army. St. Louis seems, indeed, to have entertained a high respect for surgical appliances; and he deemed the professors of them of too much value to be regarded simply as servants of the clerical physicians, engaged in little else than following the directions given to them by the priests who were practising physic. He, therefore, in the year 1268, established a college of surgeons, and dedicated it to the honour of St. Cosmos and St. Damian. One of the conditions annexed to this foundation consisted of an obligation

to attend divine service every first Monday in the month, and after its performance to dress gratuitously the lame and wounded poor.

The servants of the priests, however, excluded from admission into the college or fraternity, continued to follow their usual avocations; and at the commencement of the fourteenth century, there were no less than twenty-six settled and practising at Paris. For a short time they were tolerated, and allowed to pursue their avocations, but they were soon summoned before the "procureur du roy", and forbidden to practise by the master-surgeons, as the members of the faculty were called. The authority of these, however, was of too doubtful a nature to command obedience, and the servants and barbers continued to exercise their calling, and their numbers were daily on the increase, until by the exertions of John Pitard, who held successively the appointment of surgeon to Louis IX, Philip the Brave, and Philip the Fair, obtained from the latter an ordonnance, which gave power to him to assemble the masters in surgery, to compel all practitioners to appear before him, there to undergo examination as to their qualifications, and to such as were competent license to practise was granted. To the provost of Paris was entrusted the duty of swearing those to whom licenses were given, and authority also to punish such as should dare to practise without proper authority and permission. This was an effective step; and the edict was enforced by king John in 1352, and again in 1355, and subsequently by Charles V, who, it is worthy of notice, while regent, had enrolled his name in the list of members, an example followed, as late as 1615, by Louis XIII, the year after he was declared of age by the regent.

Yet the barbers were not entirely excluded from practice, as permission was given to them in 1372 to dress boils, bruises, and open wounds, which were not mortal, but might become so without timely assistance. At this period, it must be remembered that France constituted the principal seat of learning, that many English resorted thither to pursue their various studies, and that there existed a department called the English school, over which an English procureur presided.

The first surgeon, as far as I can ascertain, regularly

appointed to attend an English monarch was Richard de Wy, who, in 1360, according to a MS. in the British Museum,¹ received this distinction from Edward III. The practice has continued to the present time, and they are now known as sergeant surgeons, though it was not until the first year of Edward VI that the office of sergeant surgeon was instituted, with a salary of forty marks *per annum*.

It was not until the reign of Henry V that England appears to have been alive to the necessity of exercising a controul over the practitioners of medical and surgical science. That monarch, in the third year of his reign (1415), undertook the invasion of France, and to supply the necessities of his fleet and army, as regarded their medical wants, he had only one surgeon, named Thos. Morestede, and twelve assistants to accompany him, and attend upon 6000 men at arms, and 24,000 archers.² The mortality in his army was great; an epidemic dysentery prevailed, from the incautious eating of fruit, and 2000 persons are reported to have died, among whom were many persons of rank. A great number beside were incapacitated for duty, and the situation of the army at Honfleur, reduced to 10,000 men, and opposed to at least 100,000 (some say 140,000) of the enemy, was most desperate. The indomitable courage of Henry, however, led his followers

¹ MS. Additional, 458, Article 133, p. 675, vol. ix, Rymer's Collection.

10 Jun. Pro Richardo de Wy Surgico Regis.

(Pat. 33, E. 3, p' 2. m. 27.)

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc. salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali et pro bono servicio quod dilectus serviens noster Richardus de Wy surgicus noster nobis adiu impendit et impendet in futur' concessimus ei vadia sua consueta videlicet duodecim denar' per diem et octo marcas per annum pro robis suis percipiend' ad terminum vitæ suæ per manus Custodis Garderobe nostre qui pro tempore fuerit tam pro tempore quo ab hospicio nostro absens quam presens fuerit in eodem. In cujus, etc.

Teste Rege apud Westm' .x die Junij.

Per breve de Privato Sigillo.

² Rymeri "Fœdera", tom. ix, p. 237: "Indentura cum Chirurgico Regis et Retinentia sua". This indenture, entered into by the king Henry V on one part, and Thomas Morstede, surgeon to the king, on the other, provides that the latter shall engage and take with him fifteen persons, three of whom shall be archers, and the remaining twelve persons of his own profession, "Hommes de son metier". Morestede was to receive forty marks for his expenses, and his assistants twenty marks each. The indenture is dated from Westminster, April 29th, 3rd Henry V (1415). In Rymer's "Fœdera", tom. ix, p. 252, we also find a "Petitio Cirurgici Regis" of the date of May 26th, 1415, in which Morstede prays for money for himself and assistants for necessaries for the voyage; and another to have under the privy seal letters of commission for the campaign.

to victory in the ever celebrated battle of Agincourt. In this expedition, the king gave some of his jewels in pledge for the payment of the salary allowed to the surgeon and his attendants.

In 1417, in his second expedition against France, a warrant¹ was issued to Thomas Morestede and William Bredewardyn to press as many surgeons and instrument makers into their service as they could find either in the city of London or elsewhere; which proves how few there were then following the profession of surgery. This scarcity of surgeons of repute may account for the number of uninformed persons who appear at this time to have prevailed, and which, in the ninth year of the same monarch, led to an attempt to punish the rabble as offenders;² but there were then too few qualified surgeons to render the means adopted effectual. In the succeeding reign, qualified practitioners became more abundant, and a large number of surgeons and barbers came over from France.³

¹ "Rymeri Fœdera", tom. ix, p. 363, June 14, 1416. "De Sururgicis providendis, pro Viagio Regis."

"Rex dilectis sibi, Thomæ Morestede, et Willielmo Bredewardyn, Sururgicis nostris, salutem.

"Sciatis quodd assignavimus vos, conjunctim et divisim, ad tot Sururgicos, et alios artifices, pro certis instrumentis misteræ vestræ necessariis et compentibus faciendis, quot pro præsentī viagio nostro supra mare necessarij fuerint et opportuni, ubicumque invenire poterunt, tam infra civitatem nostram Londoniæ, quam alibi, sine dilatione capiendum et providendum; Et ideo vobis præcipimus quodd circa præmissa diligenter intendatis, et ea faciatis et exequamini in forma prædicta," etc.

² Willcock quotes from Petyt's MSS., v. 33, p. 140, a draft of Act of Parliament, 9 Hen. V (1422), as follows:—"No one shall use the myserie of fysyk, unless he hath studied it in some university, and is at least a bachelor in that science. The sheriff shall inquire whether any one practises in his county contrary to this regulation; and if any one so practise, he shall forfeit £40, and be imprisoned. And any woman who shall practise physick, shall incur the same penalty." The lords of the Privy Council were directed to make whatever regulations they might think proper upon this; but it does not appear to have had the effect of an Act of Parliament.

³ MS. Additional, 4604, Article 61, p. 279.

Pro Surgicis et Barbitonsoribus Civitatis Burdeg.

Vascon. 2 H. 6. m. 10.

Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem.

Inspeimus transumptum sive translatum quarumdam literarum patentium domini Johannis de Sancto, Johanne Militis, nuper majoris et juratorum civitatis Burdeg, per Johannem Tiptoft, militem nuper senescallum, domini H. nuper Regis Angliæ patris nostri defuncti. Ducatus sui Aquitan'æ sub sigillo officij ipsius nuper senescalli factum in hæc verba.

Universis præsentēs literas inspecturis Bertrandus de Asta, decretorum doctor judex appellationum ad curiam Vasconiæ interpositarum et ipsius curiæ aliarum causarum quarumcumque auditor ac locumtenens, nobilis et potentis viri domini Johannis Tiptoft, militis senescalli Aquitan'æ, pro serenissimo do-

In this manner, the way was paved for the patent of incorporation, granted by Edward IV, and it was in the first

mino nostro Angliæ et Franciæ, rege salutem et fidem indubiam eisdem adhibere.

Notum facimus nos die date presentium infrascripta protribunali in auditoris causarum, curiæ nostræ predictæ Vasconia, sedentes et de causis ejusdem curiæ, ut est moris cognoscentes in presentia notarii publici clerici sive scribe ejusdem curiæ et testium infrascriptorum quasdam patentes literas nobilis viri domini Johannis, de sancto Johanne militis civitatis Burdeg, et juratorum ejusdem civitatis in pergameni scriptas sigillo comune dictæ civitatis cum sera viridi impendenti sigillatas nobis per partem surgicorum et barbitonsorum, habitancium et commorantium in dicta civitate, in prædictis literis nominatorum exhibitas et presentatas sanas et integras omnique vicio et suspitione carentes, ut prima facie apparebat recepisse illasque tenuisse legisse palpassse et diligenter inspexisse, ac per notarium comunem curiæ nostra predictæ infrascriptum, ibidem coram nobis publice judicialiter et alta voce, ad supplicationem et speciale requestam Arnaldi Delasserra et Gancelini, de ponte barbitonsorum burgensium dictæ civitatis, et in eadem habitancium et comorancium, pro se et nomine aliorum barbitonsorum et surgicorum, in prædicta civitate etiam habitantium, et comorantium legi, et publicari fecisse petentiumq' et requirentium sibi nomine quo supra per nos transumptum seu translatum prædictarum literarum dari et concedi decreta, et auctoritate nostris vallatis, ut deinceps tanta fides eidem transumpto ubilibet adhibeatur sicut vero originali dictarum literarum quas de verbo, ad verbum transcribi et legitime copiar per dictum notarium infrascriptum fecimus et mandamus a dicto originali in hunc modum "Nos Johan de saint Johan Cavalier Maher de Lacinlat de Borden et Juratz de Lamedissa avandeita civitat huyt en nombre et plus estantz dentz lamaison comunan de sont glegi en pleneyra jurada par tractar delas causas concernentz labor et profeit comun de lad ciutat, et entre las antras de las causas deins es-cruitas ans totz quilas presentz veiran salut.

"Saver fasem q^{ue} nos mager et juratz susdeitz considerantz et attendentz un erla supplicacion a nos feila par los surgeons et barbei habitantz et demorantz en la deita ciutat soes assaver mestre Ramon de Sodares mestre Esteven Deumas mestre Dams den Jardm' mestre Amanrin de seint Martin Perrinot Auster Arnantonde de serras mestre Arnand de Labia den pont Permot de Lemosin Helias oley Guilhemin Abenant Sanson Lambert Pey den Prat pey doat Helias pont Ayman Roy et autres habitantz et demorantz en la deita ciutat cum dessus nostres borgues contenentz plusors caps et articgles nos supplicantz entre les autras causas que anos plagas ordenar. Inhibir et defendre a totz barbeis que nulhiro fos si ardit debarbeiar endigmenge in enlos Jovus de nadan de capdan de Epiphania de Paschas de Assencion et autiris festas annans de lan en las quatre festas de nostra dona. Et plus que nulli nopogos user de aucuns densdeitz officis de surgia in debarberia in lenar in lenir obrador hubert entro tant fos degudament par aucuns en asso expertz par nos expressament et especiaumentz surso depudadors sobre su sufficiensa examinat. Et la que sere estat examinat et fere trovat sufficient que agos apagar quatre francs las tres partz a ladeila custat et alas ovras daquera et la quarta part a la coffraia deusd supplicantz el asso sub certas penas nos mager et juratz susdeitz et regardantz lur deita supplication estre mot justa et segont dreit et causa honesta et aquera estre ahonor et reverencia de Diu et de nostra dona et aubey et profeit public de la deita ciutat et os borgues on aquera et en lo pais aluviron estantz dentz la deita maison et tenent nostra jurada lo sench sonat par tenir aquera aissi cum es acosturnat fasentz nombre he huyt juratz et de plus auem ordenat et establil par las presentz ordenam et establissem que nulli barber demorant et habitant en la deita ciutat et en las vallegnas poder et senheria daquera dassi en avant no sia si audit de barbeiar en lodeit jovu de digmenge en las festas dessus declaradas in user de office de Surgia in lenar ovrador delurs deitz offices si no que sia fish de mestre tant entro sia degudament par los deputadore

year of the reign of this monarch (1461-2, not 1464, as stated by Stow) that the company of barbers or surgeons, in whose hall we are now assembled, then came as a body together. The charter bears date Feb. 24th, and at the commencement runs thus:—*Sciatis quod nos considerantes qualiter dilecti nobis probi et liberi homines mistere barbitonsorum civitatis nostre Londonie utentes mistera sive facultate sirurgicorum, etc.* To this charter the royal seal, in green wax, is appended. The master at this period was Wm. Legge, and the wardens were Hugh Harte, John Saunders, and Thos. Folliott. The company's books give a list of all the masters and wardens from the second of Edw. II (1308), the first master being Richard Lee, barber. He had no wardens. In the thirty-eighth of Edw. III, all corporations in London began under the mayoralty of Adam Berry; and in the forty-ninth year of this monarch, in the mayoralty of John Ward, it was ordered that all corporations be governed by a master and two wardens.

The original statutes of the Barber-Surgeons' Company¹

par nos enso expertz sobre sa suficiensa examinat. Ela quesera trovat sufficient que pagina aladeila cuitat et ovra daquera et ala coffraira densd supplicantz quatre francs las tres partz a la deita cuitat et la quarta a la deita coffrairia Eleasso solz la peria par tantas velz cum aura feit le contrarie de las causas susdeitas et decas tuna deras et de J. March' d'etrgent applicadinras las tres partz daquet a las ovras de la vila et la quarta part a la coffrairia densdeitz supplicantz.

En testimon divertat et amaior fermetat de las causas dessusdeitas nostras presentz lrās ausdeitz nostres borgues auem auliriat solz la saget de la comunia appareat de la Cathina.

Dadas a Borden solz lod' saget lo xxiiij. jornden mes de julh l'oru mil quatre centz et quinze Ramundus de Bernaceto.

Quarum quidem literarum predictarum transumpto seu translato hujusmodi nos iudex et locumtenens prædictus volumus et tenore præsentium decernimus quod deinceps plena fides ubique in et per omnia quanta vero originali literarum predictarum adhibeatur in agendis in iudicio et extra.

In quorum omnium singulorum premissorum fidem et testimonium et ad majorem certitudinem eorundem presenti transumpto seu publicato ad supplicationem prædictam sigillum officij dicti domini senescalli una cum interpositioni auctoritatis nostre ordinare perit' et decreti duximus apponend'. Acta sunt hæc in castro regio Burdog et auditorio causarum curiæ prædicte Vasconie die nona mensis Martij anno Domini millesimo quadrigentesimo decimo octavo. Testibus ibidem presentibus discretis viris magistris Johanne de Nogurrijs Helia de Dalhairio Petro de Bosquato in legibus et Helia Vitalis in Decretis Bocallarijs Arnaldo Vitalis Aymerico Fulcheru Petro Gascome Johanne Foyneti et Galliardo Debernors Not' publicis ac pluribus alijs ibidem existentibus. Et hoc omnibus quorum interest innotescimus per presentes.

In cujus &c.

Teste rege apud Westm' xx. die Augusti.

¹ Entries relating to the company from 1309 to 1377, are to be seen in the

date May 10, 1435, and there exists a manuscript volume on vellum containing these, now in possession of the Barbers' Company. Therein the arms of the company are emblazoned, and underneath is written:—

“The yere of oure Lord MCCCCLXXXII at the goyng ovyr the see of oure Sovryn Lord Kyng Harry the VII. In to Fraunsse. Thes armys were geven on to the Crafte of Surgeons of London the vij yere of his reynge. In the time of Hewe Clapton, mayr.”

Then follows a calendar for the year, with the names of the saints affixed to their several days, after which are twenty-three chapters:—

1. That yeerli the craft come togider.
2. Of quarterage.
3. Of the quarter daies.
4. How noon schal take anotheris cure.
5. Of governaunce of foreyns (*i. e.* foreigners).
6. Of schewynge of curis.
7. Of evene porcions of the maistris avauntage.
8. Of foreyns resseyved.
9. Of prentisis maad free.
10. How noon schal enplete another.
11. Of visitynge of housholders.
12. How peines schulen be moderate and by whom.
13. Of amending and addicion of the composicion.
14. Of payment to the dyner.
15. Of condicionis of the boondis.
16. Of the charge and ooth.
17. Of peyne of mysghovernance.
18. Of the ooth of the maistris.
19. That no man presume to breke this ordinaunce.
20. Of tymes and houris sett of comynge togidris.
21. For them that laketh on S. Luke is day at masse.
22. For them that laketh on the day of Cosine and Damyan.
23. For them that on the day of presentacion havying know (*sic*).

The original statutes¹ terminate with chapter xx, and

books of the Guildhall Chamber; and there also are the bye-laws of the company in 1387; and an Act of Parliament relating thereto of the date of 1420. Copies of these are in the books of the company, lettered L. 1 and 2.

¹ Of these, the following extracts may interest the reader:—

“In the name of God, Amen. In the tenth day of May the y^r of our L^d 1435, in the y^r of K. Henry vj, the 13th. By the good advys of the worschipful men of the craft or science of cirurgie in the cite of London, and at the commonalte

are stated to be enrolled in the book K, the sixth leaf, referring to the books at the Guildhall Chamber. The supplementary chapters, 21, 22, and 23, are dated Sept. 28, 1503, 19 Hen. VII. These chapters relate to pecuniary arrangements, and in one mention is made of the common box, which is probably the poor-box, used at this time to receive donations from those who either become freemen of the company, or take up their livery therein. In these chapters are to be found portions of the Evangelists adapted to the objects of the company and the engagements about to be entered into, and from the practice of administering the oaths upon these characteristic portions, has arisen probably the common saying of *enough to swear by*.

Following these portions of the Gospels, is "The copie of y^e Supplicōn to y^e Mayre and Aldermen of London to be relieved from bearing arms, etc., granted to them Mar. 4, 7 Henry VII, and entered in the books of the Guildhall. Copy of the Liberties of the Surgeons and the seele of the city in the boke of l and y^eleef 493, ordering a *public* examination of all such as practise in the city of London." These regulations are dated 1497.

In 1461, it must be recollected, men allowed their beards to grow, and shaving was an operation of rare performance, unless for surgical purposes. In cases of accident to the head it frequently became necessary to remove the hair, and it thus formed the business of the surgeon, and there is reason to believe that the surgeons in general of this

of the same craft, a compositie or an ordinance in this matter is made and assented stabilli to stonde evere here aftir: First, that yeorli the seid craft come togidere on the dai of Seint Cosme and Damian afore noon and chose hem iiij maistris for the yeer, as old custum was to rule and governe wel and truli the seid craft. And that the maistris have the tresour and comoun godis of the same craft or feloschip I governaunce the seid yeer, and thei to be bounden therfore, etc."

"And, moreover, if any persowne of the seid feloschip have any cure disperat of the wh^h is lykh to falle deeth or mayme or to him unknowen, that he schewe it to the maistris or to sume of hem withoune foure or fyve daies, upon peine to paie to the box xiiis. & iiijd. And if any of the forseid maistris be requirid bi any of the felowschip to se sich a cure disperat, and he wole not come threto se it, eithir for comfort of the sike and honeste of the craft, that he paie to the box at ech tyme and as ofte as he is hereinne faut, vjs. & viijd. And if any man of the maistris forseid for the yeer falle thus I any peine above ordeined, if he wole not paie it withinne the dai of his offise of maistirship, that thanne hise successouris that is to scie the maistris aftir hym gadere it of him as thei gadere it of other personys of the same felowschip or craft."

period practised as barbers. Rymer mentions a patent¹ for naturalization of one Michael Belwell, who filled the post of surgeon to Henry VI in 1443, and in this he is described as "*Valettus et Sirurgicus noster*"; and in another warrant,² issued to Wareynn and Marshall, also surgeons to Henry VI in 1454, the *capitis rasura* is expressly mentioned as a part of their official duty. It has been remarked, that the business of a barber in those days implied no degradation whatever, rather the contrary under certain circumstances. From Rymer's *Fœdera* (xi, 182)³

¹ Rymeri "*Fœdera*", tom. xi, p. 18: "*Pro Sirurgico Regis*", Feb. 7th, 1443, 21° Hen. VI. "*Concessimus dilecto servitori nostro, Michaeli Belwell Valetto ac Sirurgico nostro*", etc.

² Rymeri "*Fœdera*", tom. xi, p. 347: "*De Ministrando Medicinas circa Personam Regis.*"

REX, dilectis sibi, Magistris, Johanni Arundell, Johanni Faceby, et Wilhelmo Hatclyff, Medicis, Magistro Roberto Wareyn et Johanni Marchall, Cirurgicis, salutem.

Sciatis quòd, cùm nos adversâ valetudine, ex visitatione divinâ, corporaliter laboremus, a quâ nos, cùm ei placuerit, qui est omnium vera salus, liberari posse speramus, propterea, juxta consilium ecclesiastici consultoris, quia nolumus, abhorrare medicinam quam pro subveniendis humanis langoribus creavit Altissimus de ejus salutari subsidio, ac de fidelitate, scientia, et circumspectione vestris plenius confidentes, de avisamento et assensu concilii nostri, assignavimus vos conjunctim et divisim ad liberâ ministrandum et exequandum in et circa personam nostram.

Inprimis (videlicet) quòd licitè valeatis moderare nobis dietam juxta discretionas vestras et casus exigentiam.

Et quòd, in regimine medicinalium, liberè nobis possitis ministrare electuaria, potiones, aquas, sirupos, confectiones, laxativas medicinas in quacunque forma nobis gratiori et ut videbitur plus expedire, clisteria, suppositoria, caput purgia, gargarismata, balnea, vel universalia vel particularia epithimita, fomentationes, embrocationes, capitis rasuram, unctiones, emplastra, cerota, ventosas cum scarificatione vel sine, emeroidarum provocationes, modis quibus meliùs ingetuare poteritis, et juxta consilia peritorum medicorum qui in hoc casu scripserunt vel imposterùm scribent; et ideò vobis et cuilibet vestrùm mandamus quòd circa præmissa diligenter intendatis, et ea faciatis et exequamini in forma prædicta: damus autem universis et singulis fidelibus et lignis nostris, quorum interest, in hac parte, firmiter in mandatis quod vobis, in executione in præmissorum, pareant et intendant, ut est justum. In cujus, etc. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, sexto die Aprilis. (1454, 32° Hen. VI.) John Faceby, mentioned in the foregoing warrant, was physician to Henry VI, and by a warrant, 22° of this reign, it appears that he received a salary of £100 *per ann.* Pro Physico Regis Rex collectoribus parvæ custumæ suæ in portu civitatis suæ Londoniæ, qui nunc sunt et qui pro tempore erunt, salutem.

Cum de gratia nostra speciali concesserimus dilecto servitori nostro magistro Johanni Faceby, physico nostro, centum libras percipiendas annuatim a festo Sancti Michaelis ultimo præterito pro termino vitæ suæ de parva custumâ nostra in portu prædicto, etc.

³ Tom. xi, p. 182. De Feodis consuetis pro Barbitonsore Regis. A.D. 1447. An. 25 Henry VI.

Rex omnibus, ad quos, etc. Salutem. Sciatis quod, per quondam supplicationem, Nobis, per dilectum servientem nostrum *Robertum Bolley*, servientem Ewariæ nostræ, exhibitam, accepimus qualiter ipse Oppellas Barbitonsorum, ad

we learn that the office of barber at the palace gates was given in 1447, as a mark of special favour, to Robert Bolley and Alexander Donour, servants of the king's ewry, with the right of receiving large fees for the tonsure of those who should be created knights of the Bath. The fee attached to the performance of this duty at the installation, upon the person of a duke, amounted to no less a sum than £10, which is probably equivalent to £120 of this period.

The charter of incorporation, 1 Edw. IV, after alluding to the number of, and evils arising from, incompetent practitioners prevailing in the city of London; ordains that two masters or governors most expert in the mystery of surgery should be annually elected by the assent of twelve, or at the least eight members, to have the oversight and government of all persons of the same profession, whether freemen or foreigners, practising in the city of London. That no one should practise without their license and authority, and that none but persons able and sufficiently learned in the mystery of surgery should be admitted into their company. It gave further power to examine all instruments and medicines used in surgery,

portam hospitii nostri, ubicumque fuerat, cum tot servientibus, quot pro occupatione hujusmodi opellis prædictis necessarii fuerunt et oportuni, habuit et occupavit cum omnibus proficuis et commoditatibus eidem occupationi aliqui modo pertinentibus sive spectantibus, prout ipse tempore, carissimi Domini et Patris nostri, regis defuncti habuit, de gratiâ nostrâ speciali *concessimus* præfato *Roberto et Alexandro Donour* valetto ewariæ nostræ opellas barbitonsorum, ad portam seu portas Hospitii nostri, tenendas, habendas, et occupandas a quinto die Julii anno regni nostri vicesimo tertio, pro termino vitæ eorundem *Roberti et Alexandri* et alterius eorum diutius viventis, cum tot servientibus, in opellis prædictis servientibus et servituris, quot pro occupatione prædicta necessarii fuerint et oportuni, cum omnibus proficuis et commoditatibus occupatione prædictæ pertinentibus sive spectantibus, unâ cum feodis *Militum di Balneo* quando erunt milites facti sive creati; videlicet, de quolibet MILITE, *viginti quatuor ulnis panni linei*, qui erunt circa balneum, unâ cum *uno tapet* longitudinis trium virgarum de rubeo worsted, ac etiam *viginti solidis* pro rasura cujuslibet MILITIS sic creati.

Quadriginta solidis de quolibet BARONE, seu ejus PARE, pro ejus rasura, *centum solidis* de quolibet COMITE, seu ejus PARE pro ejus rasura, et *decem libris* de quolibet DUCE, seu ejus PARE, pro ejus Rasura; et ulterius *concessimus* quod nullus alius barbitonsor habeat seu occupet aliquas opellas barbitonsorum, prope portam seu portas hospitii nostri, nisi prædicti *Robertus et Alexander*, durante vitâ eorum, et alterius eorum diutius viventis; eo quod expressa mentio de aliis donis et concessionibus, eisdem *Roberto et Alexandro* per Nos ante hæc tempora factis, in præsentibus facta non existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, vel ordinatione, in contrarium factis, non obstantibus.

In cujus, etc.

Teste rege apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quinto die Julii. *Per ipsum regem, et de data prædicta, auctoritate Parliamenti.*

and also to punish with fine and imprisonment all unlicensed practitioners; and all the members of the company were exempted from serving on inquests, juries, etc. This charter continued in force until the year 1499, when it was renewed by 15 Henry VII (Dec. 5); Richard Hayward, master, giving to the company four masters (*i. e.* one master and three wardens) instead of two, and they are denominated "Magistri sive gubernatores mistere barbiton-sorum et sirurgicorum." This charter was again confirmed by the succeeding monarch, Henry VIII (3 H. Mar. 12, 1512), John Knott being the master. An act of parliament was also passed in the same year, entitled "An act for the appointing of physicians and surgeons." This (c. 11) sets forth the inconveniences ensuing by ignorant persons practising physic and surgery, asserting that "common artificers, as smiths, weavers, and women, boldly and accustomably take upon them great cures and things of great difficulty, in the which they partly use sorcery and witchcraft, etc., and to the high displeasure of God, great infamy to the faculty, and the grievous hurt, damage, and destruction of many of the king's liege people, most especially of them that cannot discern the uncunning from the cunning." And this statute enacts "that no person within the city of London, nor within seven miles of the same, take upon him to exercise and occupy as a physician or surgeon, except he be first examined, approved, and admitted by the bishop of London or dean of St. Paul's for the time being, calling to him or them four doctors of physick, and for surgery other expert persons in that faculty; and for the first examination such as they shall think convenient, and afterward alway four of them that have been so approved, upon the pain of forfeiture for every month that they so occupy as physicians or surgeons, not admitted nor examined after the tenour of this act, £v; to be employed, the one-half thereof to the use of our sovereign lord the king, and the other half thereof to any person that will sue for it by action of debt, in which no wager of law nor protection shall be allowed."

A writer, under the initials T. D., in a letter addressed to serjeant-surgeon Bernard (of whom there is a portrait in this hall, he having been master of the company in 1703), published in 1703, states that at the time of passing

of this act, 3 Henry VIII, there were but ten surgeons having no connexion with the barbers in the whole city of London; and two years afterwards, 5th Henry VIII, cap. 6, it is enacted, that so long as there should be no more than twelve surgeons within the city of London, they should be exempted from bearing of arms, and being put on watches and inquests. The same exemptions were also given to the Barber-Surgeons in a distinct clause of the same act. The barbers, however, multiplied (for the shaving of beards became more common), and, with numbers, became promiscuous. Surgery, on the other hand, was treated as a science abroad, particularly in Italy and France, and the art of printing assisted powerfully in the promotion of knowledge by the dissemination of the works of the fathers of physic. The introduction of firearms for the purposes of warfare also tended to call into requisition the services of the surgeon. Under these circumstances, one would be rather prepared to witness the separation of barberry and surgery, but it is very remarkable that by the 32nd of Henry VIII¹ (1541), Edward Harman, king's barber, being the master, and James Mumford, king's surgeon, William Tully and Robert Sprignell, the wardens, an act was passed for barbers and surgeons. This recognizes two several and distinct companies, one the Barbers, the other the Surgeons of London, and therefore incorporates them into one body, called by the name of "Masters or Governors of the Mystery and Commonalty of Barbers and Surgeons of London." To have a common seal, and by this act they are exempted from "bearing of armour, or to be put in any watches or inquests; and they and their successors have the search, oversight, punishment, and correction, as well of freemen as of foreigners, for such offences as they, or any of them, shall commit or do against the good order of barberry or surgery." By this act they are also allowed "Four persons condemned, adjudged, and put to death for felony, by the due order of the king's laws of this realm, for anatomies";² and to

¹ Among the archives of the Barbers' Company is a roll of statutes allowed by lord chancellor More, Thomas duke of Norfolk, lord treasurer and chief-justice Fitzjames. It bears their several signatures, and is dated May 14, 22 Hen. VIII (1530).

² By the 25 Geo. II (1752), in "an act for better preventing the horrid crime of murder," it was ordained that all murderers were to be delivered up, after

“ make incision of the same dead bodies, or otherwise, to order the same after the said discretion, at their pleasures, for their further and better knowledge, instruction, insight, learning, and experience, in the said science or faculty of surgery.” “ III. And forasmuch as such persons using the mystery or faculty of surgery, oftentimes meddle and take into their cures and houses such sick and diseased persons as have been infected with the pestilence, great pox, and such other contagious infirmities, do use or exercise barbery, as washing or shaving, or other feats thereunto belonging, which is very perillous for infecting the king’s liege people resorting to their shops and houses, there being washed or shaven”, it then ordains, “ That no manner of person within the city of London, suburbs of the same, and one mile compass of the said city of London, after the feast of the Nativity of our Lord God next coming, using barbery and shaving, shall occupy any surgery, letting of blood, or any other thing belonging to surgery, drawing of teeth only except.” The practice of the mystery or craft of surgery is also forbidden to practise the feat or craft of barbery or shaving.

This act also recommends, that every practitioner of surgery, whether alien or freeman, “ shall have an open sign on the street side where they shall fortune to dwell, that all the king’s liege people there passing by may know at all times whither to resort for remedies in time of necessity.” In regard to the officers of the united company, it enacts, that there shall be four masters or governors, two being expert in surgery, and two in barbery. In the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth Henry VIII, however, a bill was enacted, “ That persons, being no common surgeons, may minister medicines, notwithstanding the statute.” This had relation to “ divers honest persons, as well men as women, whom God hath endued with the knowledge of the nature, kind, and operation of certain herbs, roots, and waters, etc., who have not taken any thing for their pains or cunning, but have ministered the same to poor people

execution, for dissection at Surgeons’ Hall, unless ordered by the judge to be hung in chains. Among the papers of the company there are orders, by the sheriffs, to carry this enactment into effect. The practice of dissection continued until 1832, when, happily, it was by law abolished, and proper arrangements made to facilitate the study of anatomy without contravening the laws of the country.

only for neighbourhood and God's sake, and of piety and charity."

In the 24 Henry VIII, Feb. 4th, it was settled that the barbers or surgeons should rank as No. 17 in the list of city companies; but the Stock Fishmongers being dissolved in this year, the Barbers or Surgeons were declared to be No.16. This appears from the minute book of the company. Their rank among the city companies, however, appears to have been invaded in 1606; for a minute of the date of July 8th of the same year runs thus:—

"Memorandum that the king's majesty, with the king of Denmark, and the prince of Wales, came through the city, from wardes the tower of London, attended upon with the lords and gentry of this London, on the last day of this instant month of July (1606), at which time Mr. Fexe, being one of the committees for placing one of the company's standings, would have displaced us; but, by the lord mayor's order, we were in the seventeenth place, according as we ought to be placed."

In the 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, the preceding statutes enacted in the reign of Henry VIII, were ratified (June 8th, 1557); and this was repeated by second Elizabeth, Jan. 6th (1560).

In 2 James I (1604), another charter was given to the surgeons, conferring the exclusive right of practice within three miles of London, and also appointed a court of assistants, twenty-six in number, who were to hold the office for life, unless there should be reasonable ground for their removal; and as this charter does not express any fixed number of the assistants to be exclusively surgeons, it ordains that the masters should every year, before the expiration of their office, choose twelve persons out of the assistants and commonwealth, six of whom were to be surgeons, and six barbers; and these twelve were to choose the four new masters for the year out of the court of assistants.

In 4 James I, 9th Aug. (1606), lord Ellesmere, chancellor, Sackville lord Dorset, treasurer, and chief justice Popham, signed and sealed a body of statutes extending over eight skins, commencing with a reference to the statutes of 19 Henry VII, restraining corporations from making acts or ordinances against the king's prerogative,

and the common profit of the people, unless they be examined and approved, etc. I am disposed to think this allowance and confirmation of statutes was occasioned by persecutions directed against the surgeons by the college of physicians.

Charles I, in 1629 (Aug. 15), extended the jurisdiction of the company, and right to practise, to seven miles, and provided for the election of ten examiners out of the court of assistants, who were to see to the fitness and qualifications of all candidates for admission into the company; and no member of the company who might be called to a person wounded so as to be in danger of life and limb, was exempt from consulting with one or both of the masters' surgeons respecting the case, within twenty-four hours, on pain of forfeiting forty shillings. Other provisions were made with regard to apprentices,—the necessity of their acquaintance with the Latin language, etc.;—and permission was given for the reading of a lecture on surgery, once a week, or otherwise, according to the discretion of the master and court of assistants.

In the 9 Charles I, July 12, 1633, the statutes allowed by lord treasurer Portland, and chief justices Richardson and Heath, formed an instrument occupying no less than twelve skins. In the 33 Charles II, Aug. 35, 1681, some special bye-laws were granted relating to the teaching of anatomy, signed by lord chancellor Nottingham, and chief justices Pemberton and North; and in the 35 of the same reign there are additional statutes granted. In 1 James II, Feb. 27, 1685, a patent was given to the company, the cost of which amounted to £205. 8 Anne, April 6, 1709, allowed statutes on thirteen skins, signed and sealed by lord chancellor Cowper and the chief justices Holt and Trevor.

It is not a little singular, that, under all these provisions, the bishop of London, or the dean of St. Paul's, with their examiners, still possessed the power of examining all practitioners of surgery in London, the operation of which, if carried into practice, could not be otherwise than to nullify the effect of the charter.

The powers of the bishop and the dean were continued until, by the 18 George II, cap. xv (1745), the surgeons and barbers became separate companies. This act, after

setting forth previous acts, and referring to those of 32 Henry VIII, confirmed and enlarged by 2 James I, and 5 Charles I, sets forth the inconveniences sustained by the practitioners of surgery from their union with the barbers—separates the two bodies, the surgeons being made a separate body, permitted to enjoy rents not exceeding the amount of £200 per annum, elect officers, etc.; and the first master or governor so elected is John Ranby, esq., principal sergeant-surgeon to his majesty; and Joseph Sandford and William Cheselden, esqrs., who were at this time wardens of the company, were also appointed wardens or governors. These, together with Ambrose Dickins, principal sergeant-surgeon to the king, William Petty, John Shipton, John Freke, William Pyle, Legard Sparham, James Hicks, and Peter Sainthill, are appointed examiners of surgeons. These, together with John Hayward, Noah Roul, John Westbrook, William Singleton, and James Phillips, and five others, to be afterwards elected, are to constitute the court of assistants, which is to be complete in the number of twenty-one. The barbers are also constituted a separate company, and master Jonathan Medley, the then master of the united corporation, and master Humphrey Negus, the third master or governor, with two other persons (Edward Boxley, and Samuel Rutter), are to form the master and governors of the company or corporation of barbers of London. The bye-laws of both bodies were continued to them by this act, and they were entitled to enjoy all their former privileges. A special clause being a gift of £510, given and paid by Edward Arris¹ for the use of the public anatomy lectures on the muscles, and an annuity of £16, by the will of John Gale, for one anatomy lecture, by the name of Gale's anatomy, were confirmed to the surgeons. The writings, books, etc., also belonging to the surgeons, were directed to be delivered over to them by the barbers.

¹ Of Edward Arris there is a portrait at the hall. He was master of the company in 1651. An entry in the Minute Book of the 9th August 1647, orders his picture to be set up in the hall, next the anatomy table; and another directs his and Dr. Scarborough's, both of which are in the same painting, to be placed in the hall; it is now in the court-room. At the sale of some plate, to enable the company to build their hall, Edward Arris purchased a silver-gilt cup and cover, which had been given by Henry VIII, and he gave it again to the company.

The court of examiners, together with the members of the corporation of surgeons, met together on the 3rd of July 1746, to be made acquainted with the separation, and dined together, his majesty George II presenting to them a brace of bucks for the occasion. In the books of the Company of Barbers there is the following entry on this point :—

“Be it remembered that on the 24th day of June 1745, and in the 18th year of the reign of king George the second, the surgeons were separated from the barbers by an act passed in the last session of parliament, entitled an Act for making the surgeons of London, and the barbers of London, two separate and distinct companies.

In France, the surgeons of St. Côme, and the barber-surgeons, were incorporated together by Louis XIV, in 1655, and the surgeons were not separated from the barbers until the time of Louis XV, in 1743, two years preceding that step in England. It was, no doubt, much promoted by the great importance attached to the study of anatomy, which had been liberally cultivated in France; for in proportion to the knowledge obtained of the structure of the human body, must necessarily be the certainty and success of all surgical operations. The demonstrations made in the Jardin Royal, during the reign of Louis XIV, were attended by students from all parts of Europe; and in the year 1724 there were no less than five professors publicly engaged in treating of the theory and practice of surgery. The example thus set by France was speedily followed in Germany and in Holland, and schools were established, which contributed materially to the advancement of medical and surgical knowledge. Many circumstances tended to retard a like advancement in England. At this period London could only boast of two royal hospitals; St. Bartholomew's, founded in the reign of Henry VIII, and St. Thomas's, in that of Edward VI. No pupils were permitted to be educated in one, and nine only in the other. Added to this, the regulations of the united company of barbers and surgeons prohibited the dissection of any body out of their hall, and subjected the violator of their orders to a penalty of £10. No surprise can therefore exist at the paucity of men celebrated for their surgical knowledge in England during this period, compared with

the galaxy of which France could boast. The labours of Petit, Garengeot, Du Verney, Le Dran, and others, paved the way for the establishment of the Royal Academy of Surgery of Paris, under the reign of Louis XV, in 1731.

In 1715, a room, as a repository for medicine, was opened in the Bird-cage-walk, St. James's Park, and a house was afterwards taken in Petty France, now called York-street, Westminster, affording accommodation to thirty patients. The celebrated Mr. Cheselden was lithotomist to this, the Westminster Hospital, in 1723, and continued his services for fifteen years. The establishment was not removed to James-street until 1733, and this removal created a schism amongst its supporters, which ended in the founding of St. George's Hospital.

By the beneficence of Thomas Guy, a bookseller in London, the hospital, bearing his name, was established in 1721; that of St. George in 1734; the London in 1740; and the Middlesex in 1745. These establishments were happily furnished with very distinguished surgeons; schools were founded, and henceforth surgical science took its proper position in England. One of the first steps consequent upon this advance was, doubtless, the separation of the surgeons from the barbers; which, as I have said, took place in 1745, by which the two companies were made distinct, and the powers of the bishop of London, and the dean of St. Paul's, repealed.

Having thus traced the history of the barber-surgeons to the time of their separation, it is not my intention to pursue the subject further. We are all now well acquainted with the advantages that have been derived by this judicious act, and we have reason to congratulate ourselves that the Government, as well as the public at large, are fully sensible of the importance of the profession, and the great benefits it has conferred upon mankind. The fact must, however, be told, that the separation of the barbers and surgeons was not approved of by the former,¹ and that the latter were in consequence subjected to many inconveniences. With the exception of the two legacies

¹ Noorthouk says that, "at a general meeting of the Company, on Feb. 22, 1745, they came to a resolution to divide; but the barbers being the majority, retained the property of their hall in Monkwell-street, and made an order that the surgeons should pay them one hundred guineas annually so long as they continued to make use of it."—*New History of London*, p. 353.

bequeathed by Arris and Gale, for anatomical lectures, and the possession of their own professional books and manuscripts, all the property in the hall; its paintings, etc., were held by the barbers. The lands and the stock of the joint company were also retained by them, and the surgeons were under the necessity of borrowing £4000 to erect a hall, the site of which was in the Old Bailey, to carry on the business of their corporation. The embarrassment arising from this circumstance was not removed until 1784. By the 40 George III the corporation of surgeons was dissolved, and henceforth became a royal college; James Erle, esq., subsequently sir James Erle, being the first principal master, which title was afterwards, by the 3 George IV, changed to that of president, and the two governors styled vice-presidents, and the court of assistants, the council of the college, as they remain to this time. Lectures on anatomy, founded by Arris and Gale, and Museum Lectures on human and comparative anatomy, illustrated by specimens from the Hunterian collection, given to the college by the Government, are annually delivered. Of this Museum, known as the Hunterian, being collected upon the basis of that formed by the celebrated John Hunter, it is sufficient to say that its equal is not to be found in the world. The college in which it is contained is, I need hardly add, to be seen in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, a building worthy of its contents. As a Fellow of the College I may be permitted to say, *esto perpetua*.

I must now direct your attention to the hall in which we are assembled. At the entrance you probably observed a singular circular piece of carved work, exhibiting within it the arms of the company. Passing through a paved court, we arrive at the building, the face of which, having nothing prepossessing in its appearance, was built after the Fire of London, to repair the injury this portion of the building had sustained. From a small vestibule we enter the hall, which it must be admitted has a dreary appearance; but it is remarkable in having a raised semicircular dais, which is paved with marble in chequer work, the material of which was the gift of Mr. Lawrence Loe, a surgeon in 1646, a member of the company, who, it is recorded, "through his good affection thereunto, did for

the worship thereof freely offer to give for the beautifying of the hall so many stones of black and white marble." To antiquaries, however, the most interesting fact connected with this hall is afforded by a knowledge that it consists of one of the bastions or bulwarks of the genuine Roman wall, a portion of which is here to be seen. At the east end is a screen supporting a music gallery and a clock. The bold oval compartments of the ceiling have to me a good effect; but I leave to our architects to discuss the peculiar features of the building. I shall content myself with referring to its contents; and here I find on the walls two large anatomical paintings, the size of life, representing the muscular structure of man, which have been removed from the theatre, which has long since disappeared. This is exceedingly to be regretted, as it has been stated to have been one of the best of the works of Inigo Jones. Of the theatre, which escaped the Fire of London in 1666, there is a slight notice in Hatton's *New View of London*, published in 1708, in which it is described as of

"An elliptical form, and commodiously fitted up with four degrees of seats of cedar wood, and adorned with the figures of the seven liberal sciences, and the twelve signs of the zodiac. Also containing the skeleton of an ostrich, put up by Dr. Hobbs 1682, with a busto of King Charles I. Two humane skins on the wood frames, of a man and a woman, in imitation of Adam and Eve, put up 1645; a mummy skull, given by Mr. Loveday, 1655. The sceleton of *Atherton* with copper joints (he was executed), given by Mr. Knowles in 1693. The figure of a man flead, where all the muscles appear in due place and proportion, done after the life. The sceletons of *Cambery Bass* and *Country Tom* (as they then call them), 1638; and three other sceletons of humane bodies." (page 597.)

The theatre was finished with an elliptical cupola, and in the reign of George I, Noorthouck says that "the hall and theatre were repaired and beautified under the direction and at the expense of Lord Burlington, in compliment to the architect." (p. 608.)

It was pulled down about the year 1782, the materials sold, and three houses erected on its site. It is remarkable that there exists no known engraving of it. Mr. Peter Cunningham acquaints us that "the designe of the Chirur-

geon's Theatre", an oval, dated 1636, is preserved in the portfolio of Jones's drawings at Worcester College, Oxford.¹ I was accordingly induced to make an application to be permitted to take a copy of this drawing, which however I found to be an engraving, as here represented (see plate 21). I beg to offer my thanks to the Rev. H. O. Coxe, of the Bodleian Library, for the trouble he so obligingly took to search this out for me. Two public and two private lectures were here annually given in this theatre on the bodies of executed malefactors. There was also a library of books attached to it, presented by different members, and described by Hatton as having been kept in good order and clean by sashes. The library was open on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and attendance given.

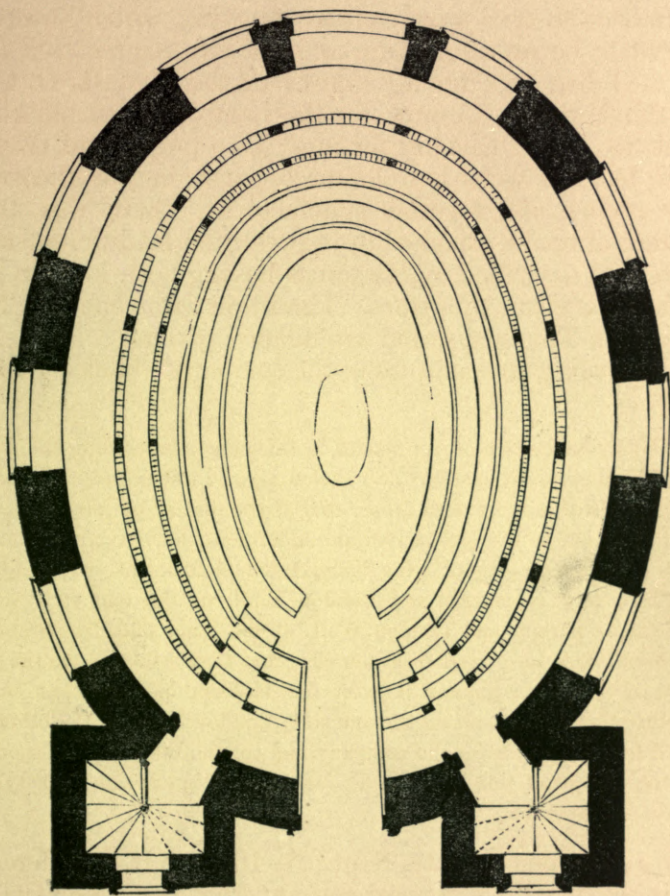
According to a minute in the company's books, Feb. 11, 1635 :—

"Upon the motion of our master to this court, concerning the want of a public theatre for anatomy and skeletons, and a lesser room for private dissections, this court doth order, that if the master or governors, upon their petition to the lord mayor and aldermen, they having the bulwark and long slip of ground lying betwixt the Goldsmiths' tenements and Clothworkers' tenements and London Wall, at the one end, and the company's parlour and London Wall, at the other end, by purchase in fee farm, or a long lease from the city, that then a theatre, to the largeness of the upper ground betwixt the Goldsmiths' tenement and the Clothworkers' tenement on the one side, London Wall on the other side, shall be ovally built for the company and commodite of this corporation, at the charge of this house. To be executed under his majesty's surveyor (Inigo Jones)."

By a previous minute, Sept. 27, 1626, "It is ordered by this court, with a general consent, that the present master or governors shall take advice of workmen concerning the new building of their parlour and lecture house, and to proceed as in their discretion shall seem meet." Upon this it is evident that the parlour only was built. On the 20th Oct. 1631, a private anatomy room was ordered to be built, but this was not confirmed at the court of April 9, 1632.

The Court Room appears to me to merit much praise for its elegance, its excellent proportions, and its comfort.

¹ Life of Inigo Jones, printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1848, p. 34.



PLAN OF THEATRE
IN
BARBER-SURGEONS' HALL,

FROM THE

Collection of the Works of Inigo Jones in Worcester College, Oxford.

The cupola was ordered to be built March 5, 1733 (in the Hall Parlour); and another minute directs it to be built in the Great Parlour, Aug. 13, 1752. The ceiling is from the hands of Inigo Jones, the architect of the building; and of him there is an admirable portrait by Vandyke,¹ and a plaster bust over the door. From the Minute Book I gain the following curious information:

“Aug. 9, 1750, the master informed the court that Mr. Gheys, statuary, had attended the governors at the last monthly meeting, and requested to have the skeleton that used to hang up in the theatre, for which he offered to present this company with some ornamental figure in plaster-of-paris, which request being now taken into consideration: It is ordered that the said skeleton be delivered to the said Mr. Gheys, on his presenting the company with the head of Inigo Jones fixed upon a pedestal, and bronzed, and with such inscription as the governors shall direct.”

There are also portraits of:

Sarah, countess of Richmond, said to be by sir Peter Lely, placed over the fire-place, and presented to the company by John Paterson, esq., clerk of the company, M.P. for Ludgershall, in Wiltshire; a gentleman worthy of note for his endeavours to improve the city of London, and who is said to have been the principal means of introducing Scotch granite for regularly paving the streets of the metropolis. He also projected a plan for raising £300,000 for the purpose of completing the bridge at Blackfriars, and redeeming the toll thereon, and embanking the north side of the river Thames.

Sir Charles Scarborough, M.D., in a red gown, hood, and cap, reading a lecture; and Edward Arris, master in 1651, in the livery gown, as demonstrating surgeon, painted by Vandyke.

Sir Charles Bernard, sergeant-surgeon to queen Anne, and master of the company in 1703.

Charles II, purchased, in 1720, for £7 : 5 : 0.

Sir John Frederick, alderman, and master in 1654 and 1658.

Dr. Tyson. (?)

Mr. Thomas Lisle, king Charles II's barber, and master in 1662.

¹ Presented by Mr. Alexander Geske.

Mr. Ephraim Skinner, assistant.

Mr. Henry Johnson, sergeant-knight to Charles II.

Two Spanish pictures, a gentleman and lady.

But the most glorious picture of the whole is that by Hans Holbein, justly said to be "glowing as a Titian, and minutely faithful as a Gerard Douw",—probably Holbein's finest English performance, and certainly of great interest here, as it represents Henry VIII delivering to the barber-surgeons the charter by which they were incorporated in 1541. It is painted on oak panel, and is in fine condition. Henry there appears in a chair of state, clothed and decked with the emblems of royalty; and he truly exhibits that bluff character and haughty demeanour which history has ascribed to him. On the right of the king are the portraits of his majesty's physicians, John Chambre, William Butts, and J. Alsop, kneeling. The first of these was Henry's chief physician, and also dean of St. Stephen, Westminster.¹ Dr. Chambre is clothed with a cap and fur-trimmed gown, having very large sleeves. Sir W. Butts, another of the king's physicians, has been rendered immortal by Shakespeare, who, in his historical play of *Henry VIII*, introduces him in the memorable scene where the Catholic party, in 1544, having attempted to overthrow Cranmer, he is cited to the council chamber, and kept waiting on the outside—

—————" 'mongst pursuivants,
Pages, and footboys."

Dr. Butts opportunely enters, and thence proceeds to acquaint the king of the insult, and then exhibits to his majesty the circumstance, upon which Henry exclaims:

"Ha! 'Tis he, indeed!

Is this the honour they do one another?

'Tis well there's one above 'em yet. I had thought,

¹ He was of Merton College, Oxford, of which he was successively a fellow and warden. In a letter signed by him and five other physicians, addressed to the Privy Council, concerning the dangerous state of queen Jane after the birth of prince Edward, he styles himself priest. He was, in addition to his deanery, archdeacon of Bedford, and one of the Convocation in 1536, when the "Articles of Religion" were framed. With Linacre and a few others, he is to be looked upon as a founder of the College of Physicians, in 1518. He held several clerical preferments, having been a canon of Windsor, archdeacon of Bedford, and prebendary of Comb and Harnham, in the cathedral of Salisbury. He died in 1549.

They had parted so much honesty among 'em,
 (At least good manners,) as not thus to suffer
 A man of his place, and so near our favour,
 To dance attendance on their lordships' pleasures ;
 And at the door, too, like a post with packets.
 By holy Mary, Butts, there's knavery."¹

¹ Shakespeare appears to have followed very closely the particulars of this interesting circumstance, which is narrated by Strype in his "Memorials of Cranmer" (pp. 177-181, ed. Oxford, 1812).

He says that the confederacy of the Papists against the archbishop induced them to represent to the king that he (Cranmer), together with other learned men, had infected the whole realm with their unsavoury doctrine, and that three parts of the land had become abominable heretics ; they therefore desired that Cranmer should be committed to the Tower. This, however, was little in accordance with the king's inclination ; and he was only induced to accede to the proposal upon the apparent Jesuitism, that as the archbishop was a member of the Privy Council, he could not be accused prior to being committed to durance. The king therefore stipulated that the archbishop should be cited before the council on the morrow, and that if they saw cause, Cranmer should be committed to the Tower. This being arranged, the king, at midnight, sent Mr. Denny (afterwards Sir Anthony) to the archbishop, desiring him to come to him. He arose from bed, and went to the king, who made known to him the intentions of the members of the council, and instructed him to obey their summons for attendance, and to claim to hear his accusers before him ; and upon this being denied to him, and a threat of committal being made, then to present the king's ring to them, by which they would know that his majesty reserved the case for his own judgment.

Cranmer was sent for at 8 o'clock in the morning, and obeyed the summons ; but he was kept for more than three-quarters of an hour at the council chamber door, among lacquies and serving men. The secretary of Cranmer, annoyed at this conduct, slipped away to Dr. Butts, and acquainted him with it, who came and kept company with the archbishop, and afterwards reported to the king the strange sight he had witnessed. "What is that ?" said the king. "Marry !" said he, "my lord of Canterbury is become a lacquey, or a serving-man ; for to my knowledge he hath stood among them this hour almost, at the council chamber door." "Have they served my lord so ? It is well enough," said the king ; "I shall talk with them by and bye." The proceedings before the council occurred in the manner predicted by the king, and terminated, to their astonishment, by the presentation of the royal ring. Upon this, the council proceeded to the king, when he rebuked them for their conduct in the following manner : "Ah, my lords, I thought that I had had a discreet and wise council ; but now I perceive that I am deceived. How have you handled here my lord of Canterbury ? What make ye of him ? A slave ! Shutting him out of the council chamber, among serving-men ! Would ye be so handled yourselves ?" The king added, "I would ye should well understand that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto God,"—and so laid his hand upon his breast. Whereupon the members of the council, and especially my lord of Norfolk, answered, "We meant no manner of hurt unto my lord of Canterbury, that we requested to have him in durance ; which we only did because he might, after his trial, be set at liberty, to his greater glory." "Well," said the king, "I pray you use not my friends so. I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth malice among you one to another ; let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you." Strype adds, that the king departed, and the lords shook hands every man with the archbishop ; against whom never more after durst any man spurn during king Henry's life.

Butts is represented in Holbein's picture wearing a skull cap, and he has a gold chain over his shoulder. He was buried in Fulham church, and his monumental inscription is supposed to have been written by sir John Cheke, who it is said was appointed tutor to Edward VI by the interest of Butts. Dr. Alsop, the remaining physician, has dark hair, and is uncovered.

These have been commonly described as former masters of the company, which is an error. They were not members of the body, but of the College of Physicians, and most likely attendants belonging to the royal household, and ordered by the king to be present on such a professional occasion.

On the left of the king is—

1. Thomas Vicary, the king's serjeant-surgeon, master of the company no less than five times; namely, in 1531, 1542, 1547, 1549, and 1558. He is receiving the charter from the hands of the king, and wears a gold chain round his neck, and a skull cap. Vicary was a man of great professional celebrity. He was serjeant-surgeon in four reigns; those of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth; chief surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and author of the first anatomical work published in the English language, entitled *The Englishman's Treasure*.

2. Is sir John Ayliffe, master of the company in 1539. He was not only a surgeon but a merchant of Blackwall Hall, and served the office of sheriff of London in 1548. He was buried in the church of St. Michael, in Basinghall-street, and his tomb thus records his history:

“In surgery brought up in youth,
A knight here lieth dead;
A knight, and eke a surgeon, such
As England sold hath bred.
For which so sovereign gift of God,
Wherein he did excel,
King Henry 8 called him to court,
Who loved him dearly well.
King Edward, for his service sake,
Bade him rise up a knight;
A name of praise, and ever since
He sir John Ailiffe, knight.”

Sir John Ayliffe is represented with a ring on his finger, a chain round his neck, and he has also a skull-cap.

In Aubrey's *Collection for Wilts*, p. i, p. 41, privately printed by sir T. Phillipps, Bart., under the head "Gryttenham", the following occurs:—

"In the parish of Brinkworth, aneiently belonging to the abbey of Malmsbury, King H. 8. was dangerously ill of a fistula, in ano.... which.... Ayliff, a famous chirurgian at London, cured: for which he had this great estate given, and I thinke all the rest of his estate hereabout. This Ayliff obtayned of the king the charter to make the chirurgians a company; and in Surgeon's-Hall is a noble piece of K. H. 8 sitting in his chair, and the Warden (then Ayliff, the first Warden), and company, in their gowns and formalities, doeing their obeisaunce to his Majesty, and receiving the charter from his Majestie's hands. This is a picture of the famous painter, Hans Holbein, the painter to H. the 8, and hath escaped the great conflagration."

3. Is Nicholas Simpson, or Symson, king Henry VIII's barber, and master of the company in 1538. He has a skull-cap.

4. Is Edm. Harman, also the king's barber, and master of the company in 1541.

5. Is J. Monforde.

6. Is J. Penn, or Pen, king's barber, and master of the company in 1540.

7. Is N. Alcocke.

8. Is Richard Ferris, master of the company in 1563, and sergeant-surgeon to queen Elizabeth.

These are all named on the picture, as are also W. Tylley and X. Samon.

Several of these are figured with embroidered robes, and the fashion of wearing their beards and hair is various. The seven in the back part of the picture, upon their legs, uncovered, are not named in the painting.

Whatever taste I may entertain for the arts, I do not feel competent to speak of this picture farther than that it appears to me to be a masterpiece of colouring and delineation. The minute detail by which every portion is distinguished, and the extreme carefulness evinced in all the subordinate parts, the fur trimming of the gowns, the ermine of the robes, the character of the embroidery, the perfection of the king's rings, all bespeak a work of high

excellence. To the connoisseur of costume it furnishes many points worthy of observation.

It remains to say, that at the top of the picture, on the left of the king, there is the following inscription in Roman capitals:—

Henrico Octavo opt. max. Regi Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, Fidei
Defensori, ac Anglicanæ, Hibernicæq. Ecclesiæ proximè a Christo
supremo Capiti, societas Chirurgorum communibus votis hæc con-
secrat.

Tristior Anglorum pestis violaverat orbem,
Infestans animos, corporibusque sedens;
Hanc Deus insignem cladem miseratus ab alto
Te medici munus jussit obire boni.

Lumen Evangelii fulvis circumvolat alis,
Pharmacon ad fectis montibus illud erit:
Consilioq. tuo celebrant monumenta Galeni,
Et celeri morbus pellitur omnis ope.

Nos igitur, supplex medicorum turba tuorum,
Hanc tibi sacramus religione domum,
Muneris et memores quo nos, Henrice, beasti,
Imperio optamus maxima quoque tuo.

This beautiful work of art has been worthily engraved by Baron, and I beg to direct your attention to the framed chalk drawing near the window, from which the engraving has been made. From the minutes of the company I copy the following:—

“ 27 Aug. 1734. Copper plate of Holbein picture, ordered of Mr. Baron for 150 guineas. Fifty guineas on finishing the drawing, fifty guineas on delivery of the plate, and fifty guineas in 100 prints.

“ Dec. 7, 1736. Prints advertized for sale at Mr. Bowles's at half a guinea each—Bowles to give 8 guineas for every 20 prints.”

A few words more with regard to the estimation in which this picture was held: it appears that king James applied to the company for permission to have it copied, and the letter in which the application is made, signed by the king, runs thus:—

“ JAMES R.

“ Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we are informed of a table of painting in your hall, whereon is the picture of our

predecessor of famous memory, king Henry VIII, together with divers of your company; *which being very like him, and well done*, we are desirous to have copied: wherefore our pleasure is that you presently deliver it unto this bearer, our well beloved servant sir Lionel Cranfield, knight, one of our masters of requests, whom we have commanded to receive it of you, and to see it with all expedition copied, and re-delivered safely; and so we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Newmarket, the 13th day of January, 1617."

Whereupon a minute was entered on the books, dated Jan. 27, 1617, to the following effect:—

"Upon the receipt of his majesty's letter, under his highnesses signet to this company, directed and dated the 13th of this instant month of January, which being read at this court, thereby desiring to borrow the picture of king Henry VIII which is now standing in the hall—it is hereupon ordered by this court, that the same picture shall be taken down, and if conveniently, it may be delivered unto the right worshipful sir Lionel Cranfield knight, and one of the masters of the requests, according to his highnesses letter, to the intent to take the copy thereof."

Great as the interest is which this picture must naturally create, that interest is increased by knowing that the original cartoons from which it was painted are in existence. The portraits were taken on four portions of paper, which have luckily fallen into the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons, and by a judicious apposition are made to constitute a picture similar to that suspended in this room.

Having thus given an account of the pictures possessed by this company, I must direct your attention to some of the plate which they are also possessed of. These consist of:—

A silver-gilt cup and cover with bells, presented by Henry VIII, and weighing 27 oz. 5 dwts. A cup and cover with pendant acorns, presented by Charles II, weighing 68 oz. 5 dwts. A large bowl (weighing 160 oz.) presented by queen Anne, in acknowledgment of the services of the company in examining the surgeons for the navy and army. A tea-urn, presented by Wm. Wood, late clerk, weighing 83 oz. 4 dwts. A flagon, weighing 55 oz., presented by Thos. Collins. Two large dishes, weighing 141 oz. 14 dwts., presented by Robt. Andrewes. Two large cups and covers, weighing 84 oz. 10 dwts., presented by Thos. Bell. Two others, weighing 100 oz.

11 dwts., presented by Thos. Bonder and John Frederick. Four goblets, weighing 33 oz. 17 dwts., by Edward Arris.

The minutes bear occasional reference to the disposal of various pieces of plate presented by the members in order to pay off debts. Sometimes it was pledged, but in other cases sold. On one occasion, however, the hall was broken into, and the plate carried off. The following minutes relate to this transaction:—

“ 16 Nov. 1615. At this court our master acquainting them how unfortunately it hath happened that the hall, on Tuesday night last, being 7 Nov., was broken open, and what loss the house sustained thereby; whereupon it was then presently considered, and then ordered that a present course be taken for the speedy recovery of the house, and Treasury house, and that the same shall be forthwith strongly boarded and made up at the charges of the house, and for this purpose this court did nominate the present master, together with Mr. Peck, Mr. Fenton, Mr. Martyn, and Mr. Foster, be committees for the well ordering, appointing of the workmen to do, and finish this work as in their discretions shall be thought meete; and what the committees or any three or two of them shall think fitting to be done, this house will ratify and allow it, as also the charge to be borne by this house. Note.—That the 11th day of Nov. Thomas Lyne confessed how he was the plotter for the robbing of our hall, and how the plate was carried to Westminster, and our money was divided among the thieves, who were these; Thos. Jones, Nicholas Sames, and Walter Foster, which did break open the hall; whereupon the clerk, having orders from our master, went to Westminster, and upon search there made, found our plate locked up in a trunk in the house of one ———, a shoemaker; £11: 18: 0 of the money Mr. warden Cook found the same day in the house of one Fulvis, in Fleet Street; but the 16th Nov. then following, Thos. Jones was taken, who being brought to Newgate in December following, Jones and Lyne were both executed for this fact. In Jan. following, Sames was taken and executed. In April 1616, Foster was taken and executed. Now let us pray God to bless this house ever from any more of these damages. Amen.

Pieces of plate were occasionally given to the company as fines; thus, “on Jan. 3, 1598, Nicholas Kellaway gave a standing cup, double gilt, excused steward and master of anathomy.” The fines of surgeons and barbers varied in amount; those of the former being of larger sum than the latter; thus, the purchase of freedom to a surgeon was ten guineas; to a barber, six. For taking up the livery, to a

surgeon, £30; to a barber £20. To the poor box, upon taking up freedom, a surgeon, five shillings; a barber, two shillings and sixpence. There are many curious matters recorded on the minute books of the company, though, I regret to say, they are not perfect in a series. The earliest are of the time of Edward VI. The defalcation is much to be regretted, as we are unable to obtain any information as to the reasons which caused Henry VIII to give the charter of union. It appears that those belonging to the company practising surgery had formed themselves into a separate body, as the surgeons of London; but of the cause of this step there is no evidence; it must, therefore, be presumed to have arisen from the widely different nature of their avocations.

Under the date of July 13, 1587, we read,—

“It is agreed, that if anybody which shall at any time hereafter happen to be brought to our hall for the intent to be wrought upon by the anatomists of our company, shall revive or come to life again, *as of late hath been seen*, the charges about the same body so reviving shall be borne, levied, and sustained by such person or persons who shall so happen to bring home the body. And who, further, shall abide such order or fine as this house shall award.”

In 1628, Charles II issued the following mandate to the company:—

“After our very hearty commendations: Whereas there is present use for a convenient number of chirurgeons for the 4000 land soldiers that are to be sent with his majesty’s fleet, now preparing for the relief of Rochelle; these shall be to will and require you, the master and wardens of the company of barber-chirurgeons, forthwith to impress and take up, for the service aforesaid, sixteen able and sufficient chirurgeons, and that you take special care that they be such in particular as are best experienced in the cure of the wounds made by gun-shot; as likewise that their chests be sufficiently furnished with all necessary provisions requisite for the said employment. And that you charge them upon their allegiance, as they will answer the contrary at their perils, to repair to Portsmouth by the 10th of July, to go along with such commanders in whose company they shall be appointed to serve. And you are further, by virtue hereof, to require and charge all mayors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and all other his majesty’s officers and loving subjects, to be aiding and assisting with you in the full and due execution of this our letter. Whereof neither you nor they may fail of your perils.

And this shall be your warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the last day of June, 1628. Your loving friend." The letter is signed by several of the lords of the council. A memorandum added to the bottom of the warrant states that "The master and wardens power and authority to impress surgeons, and by their charter and ordinances confirmed by the judges, but have not usually exercised lawful authority, but upon such like order as above written, either from the lords of the council or principal officer of the navy."

The foregoing warrant is taken from Knight's *London*, and given as an extract transcribed from the original document at the hall; but I have not been able to meet with it among the company's papers, nor can the respected clerk give me any information respecting it and others referred to by the same publication.

From the same authority we learn that,—

"In another order, of the date 1672, twenty chirurgeons, thirty chirurgeons' mates, and twenty barbers, are all grouped together; whilst in a third, referring to the reign of William and Mary, Peter Smith and Jósias Wills, the company's officers, are ordered to deliver to '*every person by them impressed, one shilling impress money.*'"

In 1632, the company was applied to to assist in the repairs of St. Paul's. I find the following entry:

"April 9, 1632. Letter from the bishop of London, in consequence of which £100 voted towards repairing St. Paul's cathedral. £10 to be then paid, and £10 per year for nine years following."

I shall close this paper with a list of the king's surgeons, or serjeant-surgeons, and king's barbers, who have been masters of the company. Those to whom the letter P is affixed are represented in Holbein's picture:

King's Surgeon, or Serjeant-Surgeon to the Sovereign.

- P. Thomas Vicary, in 1531, 1542, 1547, 1549, 1558.
- P. John Ayliffe, 1539.
- George Holland, 1557.
- P. Richard Ferris, 1563.
- Robert Balthrop, 1566.
- William Gudrus, 1595.
- George Baker, 1598.
- Charles Frederick, 1610, 1617.
- William Clowes, 1627, 1638.

Edward Arris, 1651.
 John Frederick, 1654, 1658.
 Humphrey Painter, 1661.
 John Knight, 1663, 1669.
 Richard Wiseman, 1665.
 James Pearse, 1675.
 Henry Johnson, 1677.
 Thomas Hobbs, 1687.
 Henry Rossington } 1695.
 Thomas Gardiner }
 Charles Bernard, 1703.
 Ambrose Dickins, 1729.
 Claudius Amyand, 1731.

King's Barbers.

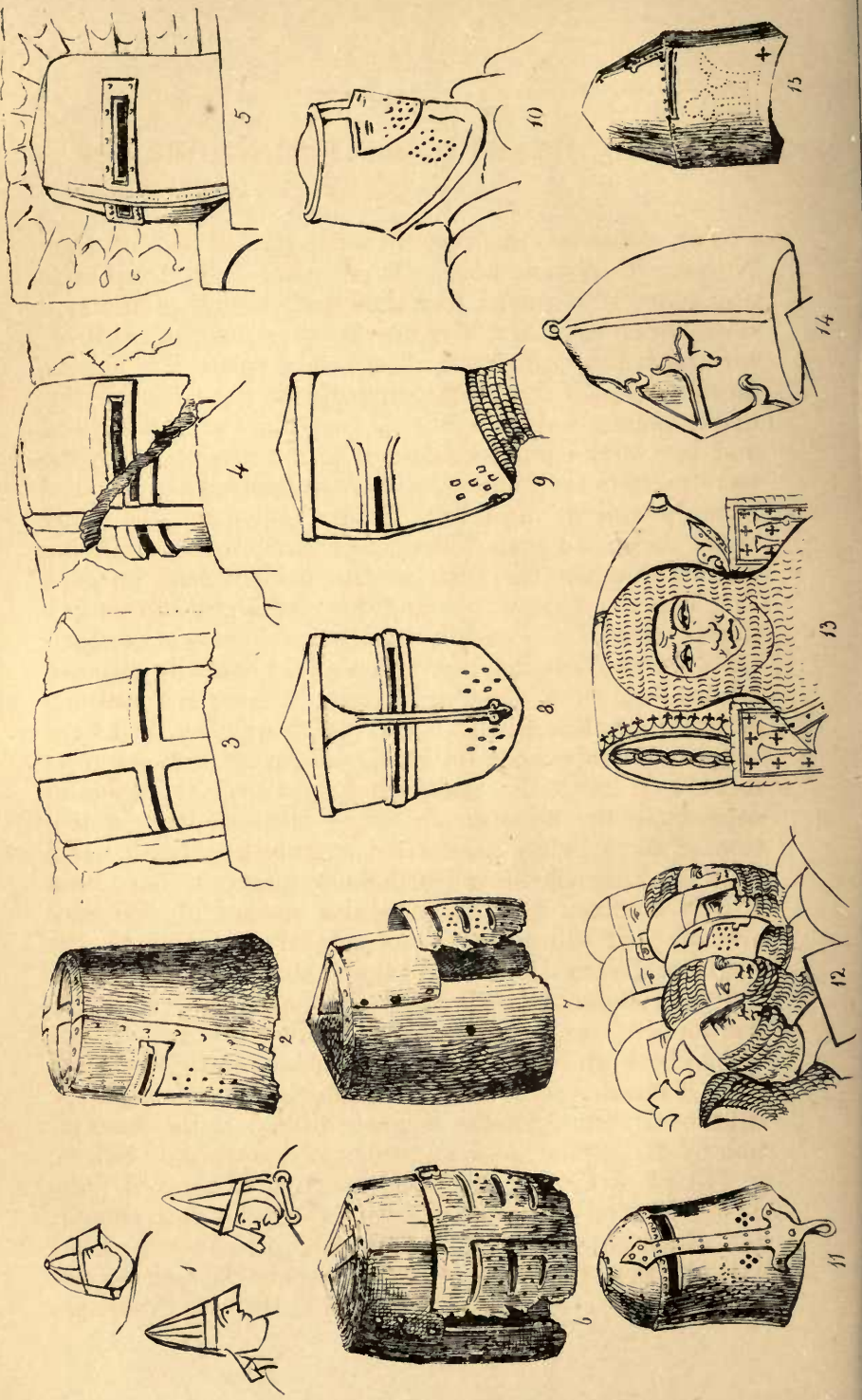
P. Nicholas Simpson, in 1538.
 P. John Penn, 1540.
 P. Edm. Harman, 1541.
 T. Caldwell, 1628.
 Thos. Davyes, 1639.
 Thos. Lisle, 1662.
 Ral. Folliard, 1664.

* * Since writing the preceding history, I have been favoured, by Mr. Moore of Dublin, with a very interesting account of the history of pharmacy in Ireland, printed in the *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science*, vol. vi, p. 64, and also vol. viii, p. 232. In these papers will be found some curious particulars relating to the corporation of barber-surgeons of Dublin. The earliest incorporated medical body in Ireland, of which Mr. Moore has been able to discover any records, is "The Fraternity or Guild of the Art of Barbers, or Guild of St. Mary Magdalene, of the City of Dublin," which was established by royal charter on the 18th of October, in the 25 Hen. VI (1446), for the promotion and exercise of the art of chirurgery. Mr. Moore acquaints us that it was to consist of "men as well as women", as brothers and sisters of the guild; to have a master and two wardens for its rule and governance; and to have a common seal, and power to possess lands and tenements, etc. Although a copy of this charter was in

the custody of the corporation of barbers as late as 1747, it appears to be now lost; and sir W. Betham was unable to find any notice of it among the records in Berningham Tower. The rolls of the Court of Chancery are also, unfortunately, deficient for a few years before and after the date of this charter, and do not, therefore, supply us with any information relating to it. The particulars, however, as cited by Mr. Moore, are to be found in a charter subsequently granted to the corporation in the 19 Eliz. (1576), which, after considerable search, he was so fortunate as to find, together with other curious records, in the possession of Michael Farrell, esq., the best master, and one of the last representatives of the guild in the common council of the corporation of Dublin. These are now deposited in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and consist of:—The charter granted by queen Elizabeth, 1576; the patent, or grant of arms, by Charles I, 1645; the charter by James II, 1687; a translation of Elizabeth's charter, 1781; three freeman's rolls, on parchment; the book of enrolment of apprentices; book of quarterages, and of entry of foreigners, 1688; transactions' books, 1703, 1757, 1792, 1826; book of bonds, 1705; roll book, 1827.

The corporation of barbers of Dublin for some time used the same coat of arms as the corporation of barber-surgeons of London, "with some small difference, being a note of diminution or subordination". Mr. Moore acquaints me that a grant of arms, 25 Charles I (18 Aug. 1645), was subsequently obtained and used by the corporation. The surgeons of Dublin, in 1781, petitioned the earl of Carlisle, the lord-lieutenant general of Ireland, to promote their separation from the barbers, as had been done in London. The measure was opposed by the barbers, but granted by charter, Feb. 11, 1784.

Mr. Moore considers it as doubtful whether the Dublin barbers received from Henry VI the same privileges (exemptions from juries, etc.) as those of London did from his successor.



ON THE HEAUME, OR TILTING HELMET.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

THE *helme* of the Saxons, and the *heaume* of their Norman successors, was a simple conical skull-cap, with a nasal or nose guard, to which that portion of the mail hood which covered the chin was occasionally hooked up, for the better protection of the face (plate 22, fig. 1). In the course of the twelfth century, the flat-topped cylindrical helmet was introduced, covering the entire head and face, and resting sometimes on the shoulders. Some were perfectly cylindrical, others assumed a barrel-shaped form, bulging at the sides. On the crown was the figure of the cross, and one of the bands which formed it, being continued down the front of the helmet, had, on each side of it, a narrow opening for the sight, forming a second cross, and beneath them were clusters of perforations for the admission of air, also occasionally disposed in the form of a cross, a lozenge, a flower, a coronet, or other fanciful device. This ugly, weighty, awkward casque was only worn during actual encounter, as, from its size, it could be immediately put over the *coiffe de mailles*, or the *chappelle de fer*;—the ordinary protection of the knight's head when equipped for battle—and from this time the *heaume* or helmet appears to have been strictly confined to this particular species of defensive armour. At the period I am speaking of, namely, the reigns of Henry II, Richard I, and John, the iron skull-cap worn under the mail hood, or independently of it, was flat topped; and, therefore, the cylindrical helmet that was to be worn over all was truncated to correspond with it. Of this description is the one discovered amongst the ruins of Eynsford Castle, Kent, exhibited to the Association by Mr. Pratt, and engraved and described in vol. vi, p. 443, of this *Journal*, as well as on the annexed plate 22, fig. 2. The original is now the property of lord Brooke, and added to the interesting collection of armour in Warwick Castle. Of this type are the helmets seen on the heads of the effigies at Furness and Durham (vide figs.

3, 4, and 5); and numberless examples are to be found in cotemporary sculptures, seals, and illuminations.

Another helmet was in use at this period, flat-topped and ornamented with a cross, like the one I have described, but open in front, the face being defended by a grating, or a plate perforated for sight; which, from a recently discovered specimen, we find worked upon hinges, fixed on the left side, so that it could be flung back like a door to display the countenance, or admit more air. This great curiosity, for the discovery of which we are also indebted to Mr. Pratt, has been purchased (*mirabile dictu*) by the authorities at the Tower, and is now in our national collection (see figs. 6 and 7). From the slightly conical form of the crown, I am inclined to date this specimen a little later than Mr. Hewett has done (*Arch. Journal*, No. 32, p. 420), and appropriate it rather to the reign of Henry III than that of Richard I, or even John, and, consequently, second in point of antiquity to the one found at Eynsford, and now in Warwick Castle.

There were several varieties of this sort of helmet, which may be seen on the seals and other monuments of the thirteenth century: some having oval-shaped openings for the face, like that in which Simon de Montfort is portrayed in Montfaucon (*Monarch. Franç.*), from a painting on glass in a window of the cathedral at Chartres; others, of which the vizor or aventail were removable at pleasure, or hinged at the top, and lifted up instead of being thrown back; and in not a few examples to be found in the seals of the earls of Flanders, engraved in the well-known work of Olivier de Vree (Olivarius Vredius), it is difficult to decide whether they are actually helmets, or merely skull-caps, with cheek pieces attached to them. One of the most singular varieties I have met with, is in the seated figure of a knight at Hampton Court, Herefordshire (see fig. 10). Another, which must surely have opened in some manner to receive the head—for seen in profile, it does not appear possible that it could be placed over it without serious injury to the olfactory organ in the process—is exhibited by an effigy in Walkerne church, Hertfordshire (see figs. 8 and 9), the cross in front being formed by a bar of iron dividing the occularium, and terminating at the chin in a floral ornament. In the reign of Edward I, the cap and *coiffe de*

mailles took the form of the head, and the helmet, as a matter of course, was rounded at the top to fit them. Of this class is the specimen from Wells, in Norfolk, exhibited to the Association by Mr. Knight, and engraved in No. xxiv of this *Journal*. It is re-engraved here (fig. 11), together with a group of heads from the paintings formerly on the walls of the Painted Chamber in Westminster, alluded to in my description of the helmet in the above number, and exhibiting one identical with it (fig. 12).

To this form succeeded one which may be familiarly termed the sugar loaf: the outline describing pretty nearly the pointed arch which superseded the old Norman round one in architecture about the same period. The brass of sir Roger de Trumpington, dated 1297, exhibits one with a ring at the bottom of it, like that we see in the helmet from Wells, to which is fastened a chain, attached at the other end to a portion of the knight's harness, to prevent the loss of the helmet when removed from the head (fig. 13). In some specimens it is attached by such a chain to one of the *mammellières*, or ornamented plates on the breast, and the sword, by a similar chain to the other. On the apex of this helmet was frequently another ring, to which was tied the *cointise*, as it was termed in Norman-French, being a scarf or kerchief of the colours of the wearer, of his feudal chieftain, or of his ladye love. (*Vide* fig. 14); but the flat-topped helmet does not appear to have been generally discarded, for as late as the reign of Edward II we see it represented in illuminations, carvings in ivory, etc., with the crown apparently rather concave than convex, the *cointise* rising out of it in the style of a feather. It is remarkable that no monumental effigy affords us an example of this fashion. At least none has yet come under my observation. The helmet supporting the knight's head in all the sepulchral portraits of this period that I can remember having met with, is round-topped or conical.

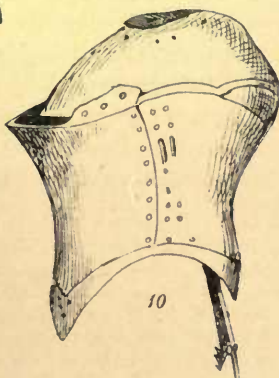
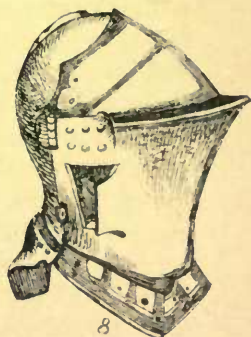
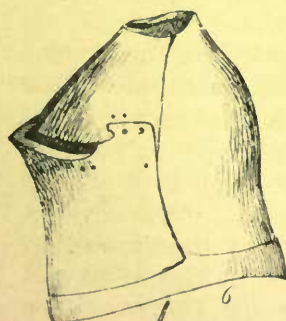
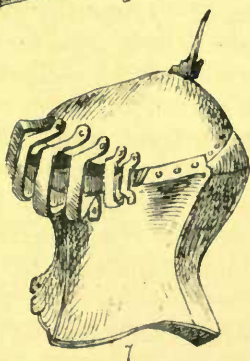
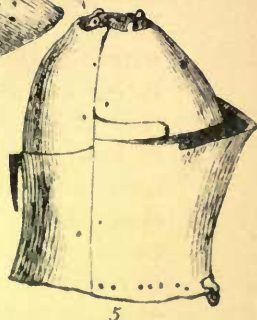
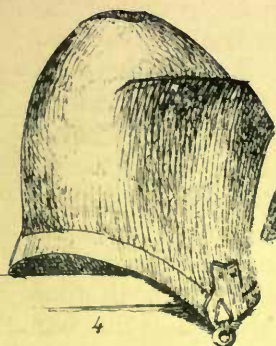
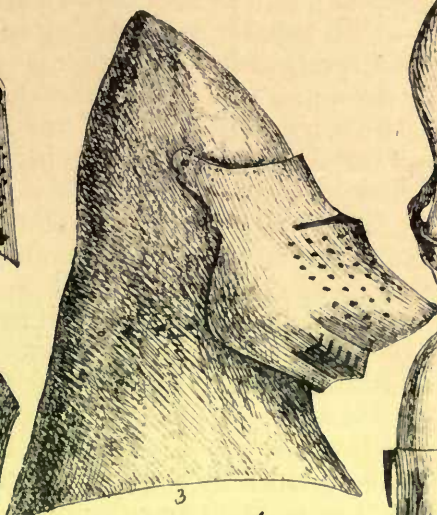
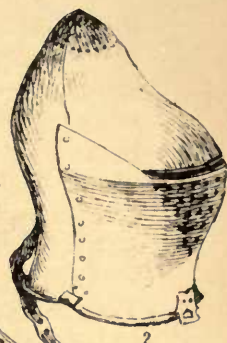
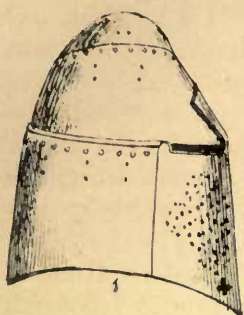
The next change we perceive in the helmets, is the projection of the fronts at the point where the opening is made for the sight at the ocularium: as seen in profile, the angle is tolerably salient (*vide* fig. 14, from the effigy of sir Wm. de Staunton, *circa* 1324, in Staunton church, Notts). The cross, plain or fleury, is still preserved as a defence or an ornament. Of this form, and the one

immediately preceding it (the sugar loaf), I know no existing specimens; but from hence we have an unbroken series of English helmets, commencing with that of a hero whose name, even after five hundred years, "stirs the heart like the sound of a trumpet",—Edward the Black Prince! His helm still hangs over his honoured tomb in Canterbury cathedral (fig. 15), with his jupon, his gauntlets, and the scabbard of his sword.¹

Another helmet of the same period, that of sir Richard Pembroke, is now in the Meyrick collection at Goodrich Court (plate 23, fig. 1), similar in every point to that of the Black Prince, save in the figure formed by the perforations, which in the prince's describe a coronet. A third, perhaps rather earlier than either of these, was, through the kindness of Mr. Pratt, exhibited to the Association on the 26th of February last. It was discovered in Kent, near Sevenoaks, and was beautifully engraved by our zealous associate Mr. L. Jewitt, of Plymouth, from a careful drawing by Mr. Charles Bailey, hon. sec., for the 26th number of our *Journal* (vol. vii, p. 161). The perforations in that example are in the form of a fleur-de-lys, and the bar which strengthens the front and forms the upright of the cross, is fleur-de-lisé at each extremity.

The next alteration was an important one; the occularium, instead of being a simple slit on each side of, or divided by the iron bar just alluded to, was now a continuous opening between the crown of the helmet and the lower portion, which began slightly to project, a change suggested probably by the angle it had previously described. A very interesting specimen of this transition period was exhibited to us by Mr. Pratt, in May 1850, and also by his kindness at the Manchester Congress (see fig. 2). It has since been purchased for the national collection at the Tower. The crest then upon it, an ante-

¹ The sword itself *is said* to have been taken away by Oliver Cromwell; upon what authority I am ignorant. If "Old Noll" was guilty of one half of the desecrations it has been found convenient to lay at his door, the antiquaries of England ought to burn him in effigy every St. George's day. How was it he did not take the scabbard also? Oliver was not the man to do things by halves. If we may believe Bolton, who has engraved it in his "Elements of Armory", there was, in his time, another shield, of the sort called the "pavoise", which had belonged to the prince, and which has disappeared, without the slightest notice having been taken of its loss. In those days there were no archæological associations.



lope's head, was a comparatively modern addition, but most probably an imitation of an earlier, if not the original ornament. The perforations for affixing the wreath, etc., are in couples all round the crown.¹ A sharper angle was next presented by the compression of the sides, and the line curving in towards the neck, gave a beak-like appearance to the helmet when surmounted by the wreath mantling and crest, as may be perceived in that of sir Edmund Thorpe, from his effigy in Ashwelthorpe church, Norfolk (see Stothard's *Sepul. Effigies*). The singular shape of the vizors worn with the *basinet* during the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV, is well known to all students of this branch of archæology; but two curious examples of *helmets* of this period, similarly vizored, must not pass unnoticed. One, now in the Tower, purchased also recently from Mr. Pratt, is engraved in the 33rd number of the *Archæological Journal*. The other, of more gigantic dimensions, is in the arsenal at Venice, and a drawing of it was kindly exhibited to the Association by Mr. James of Aylesbury (see fig. 3), with the following remarks. "The form is unique, and strikes by its vast proportions the commonest observer. The warder gravely assured me it was the helmet worn by Attila on his first descent into Italy. The punctures are confined to the right side. The weight is enormous." And he adds: "I see it is stated that there are two at Vienna; there is only one. The other helmet, which appears to attract universal attention, is of the time of Henry VII, called by the warders the 'helmet of torture!'" The one in the Tower appears to me to have been a *basinet* of the fourteenth century *altered* into a helmet (by the addition of the lower portion) during the fifteenth. M. Allou, in his *Etude sur les Casques du Moyen Age*, has figured a similar helmet as one which belonged to 'Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgonne vers 1370', preserved in the museum at Dijon."

The helmet of the heroic Henry of Monmouth, "England's fifth Harry", is still preserved in Westminster abbey (see fig. 4); and two of the same period are to be seen in Cobham church, Kent, where I made drawings of

¹ This is the tilting-helmet (*temp.* Edward III) alluded to in the "Proceedings" of August 7th, 1850, No. xxiv, page 445. It was brought from some place in Norfolk; but I have no precise account of its discovery.

them some years ago (see figs. 5 and 6). This form continued in use during nearly the whole of the fifteenth century; but several varieties were added to it during the reign of Henry VI. The helmet of that unfortunate monarch, placed above his tomb in St. George's chapel, Windsor, and which disappeared probably when that tomb was demolished by the Parliamentarians, has recently been discovered by Mr. Pratt, with that of Edward IV, which had shared a similar fate.¹ The former is of the sort familiarized to us by engravings of the heraldic helmets, the ocularium being protected by several arched bars (fig. 7). The helmet of Edward IV is nearly of the same form with that of Henry V, before described, but rather rounder in front (fig. 9). One, nearly of the same period, is in the collection at Goodrich Court. Such as these, it may be as well to remark, would be worn for the combat *à l'outrance*, whilst the more open-faced helmet, simply defended by bars, was confined to the jousts of peace, when the end of the lance was furnished with what was called a *cornel*, and the point of the sword was *rebated*, that is, blunted.

At our bi-monthly meetings in London, I have also had the gratification of exhibiting, through the kindness of the same indefatigable collector, two other tilting-helmets of the middle of the fifteenth century. The first, exhibited 10th of March 1848 (engraved in our *Journal*, vol. iii, p. 59), is of German origin, but precisely similar to those portrayed in the celebrated MS., "*Le Livre du Turnoi*", of René, king of Sicily. It is composed partly of leather, and partly of iron, and is fully described in the volume above mentioned. The second, at present in the Tower of London, is all of iron, and opened at the side for the

¹ It is unnecessary, in this place, to recite the circumstances under which these interesting relics were discovered, brought to London, and eventually restored to Windsor. It is sufficient to say that the country is indebted to Mr. S. Pratt, of Bond-street, for their rescue and preservation, and to point out the importance of such associations as ours, and the claim they have to public support, when it is evident that, but for the taste and knowledge which it is our specific object to cultivate and extend, our national antiquities might, one by one, utterly disappear, or, at the best, be suffered "to lie and rot in cold obstruction". To what are we to attribute the suddenly awakened liberality and activity of the authorities at the Tower, if not to the indignant remonstrances, public and private, of members of this Association, called forth by the facts which I have so frequently felt it my duty to lay before them? (*Vide* vol. vi, p. 445.) Be the cause, however, what it may, a change has come over the "spirit of their dream". and during the last eighteen months several valuable additions have been made to the national collection.

admission of the head ; all we have hitherto noticed, with one exception (that of the effigy in Walkerne church), being sufficiently large to place over the head. It has also a small door, opening at the left side, for the admission of air, or for the facility of hearing (fig. 8). This example is also still more illustrative than the helmet of sir Edmund Thorpe of that peculiarity which gives to the heads of knights, in illuminations of the reign of Henry VI, or Edward IV, the appearance of those of birds, from the narrowness of the necks and the projection of the occularium. The last helmet made solely for the lists is that of the reign of Henry VII, and differs from its prototype of the reign of Henry V principally in the lowness of the crown. Amongst the later specimens, it would be nearly flat but for the depression in front for the purpose of sight. The drawings here exhibited are from one in the armoury at Goodrich Court (fig. 10), and one formerly in the collection made by Mr. Brocas (fig. 11). The tournament roll of Henry VIII, in the College of Arms, London, and the well-known engravings by Hans Burgmair, called the triumph of the emperor Maximilian, afford us innumerable examples of their decoration for chivalric sport or processional pageantry.

You will be kind enough to remember, that in this brief and, I fear, imperfect catalogue, I have not included the various defences for the head worn in battle, but confined myself strictly to that which, from the conquest to the reign of Henry VII, was distinguished as the heaume or helmet, and during the greater portion of that time worn *only in the lists*. After the reign of Henry VIII, the tilting helmet appears to have been discarded, and the vizored and beavered war-helmet, of whatever denomination, Armet, Casque, or Bourginot, was used indifferently for the battle or the joust. Of these, the varieties are endless ; and their simple enumeration would occupy more space than could be accorded to a paper like the present. I will, therefore, conclude with one remark, interesting in an heraldic point of view, particularly to our Chester friends : the similarity between the name of *Holme*, as pronounced in Cheshire, and *heaume*, the Anglo-Norman word for helmet, may probably account for the appearance of that bearing in the arms of so many families in the county Palatine.

Proceedings of the Association.

MARCH 24.

THE following associates were elected :

Henry Neale Scaife, esq., R.N., Royal Yacht, Portsmouth.

Capt. George W. Okes, 29, Nottingham-place.

Anthony Evans, esq., 3, Tavistock-place.

Samuel Blore Swindell, esq., Ashburne, Derbyshire.

Charles Lee, esq., 20, Golden-square.

Robert Woodcock, esq., Clapton-square.

The following presents were received, and thanks voted to the respective donors :

From Professor Donaldson. His remarks "On the Present Condition of the Royal Tombs in Westminster Abbey, around the Shrine of Edward the Confessor." 1852. 4to.

From Rev. D. Melville. Nature's Teaching ; a Lecture read at the Annual Meeting of the Worcestershire Natural History Society. Worcester, 1851. 8vo.

From the Society. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 2ème Série. 9ème volume. Paris, 1852. 4to.

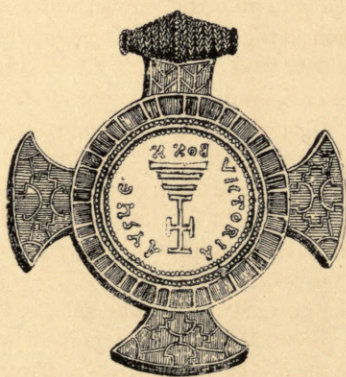
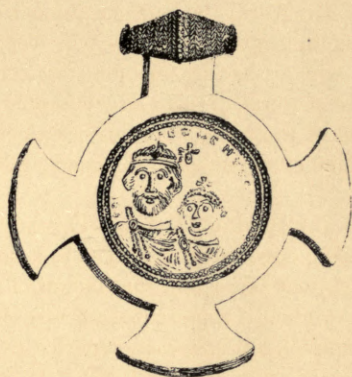
From the Société des Antiquaires de Picardie. Coutumes Locales du Bailliage d'Amiens. Tom. ii. 7ème Série. Amiens, 1851. 4to.

From Mons. Charma. Sur quelques Objets antiques découverts à Notre-Dame-de-Livoye, près Avranches, par M. A. Charma. Caen, 1852. 8vo.

From John Lindsay, esq. Two Lithograph Engravings of Antiquities found in Ireland.

Mr. Carrington made the following communication in relation to the rubbings of brasses exhibited by him at a previous meeting (see pp. 58-62 *ante*) :

"In the church of St. Michael, Penkevil, near Falmouth, is the brass of an ecclesiastic, in excellent preservation. It is a whole-length figure, with this inscription below it: 'Pray for the soule of maister John Trembras, maist' of arte, & late p'son of this churche, whiche decessed the xiiij day of Septembre in the yere of our lord god Mⁱ V^o & xv, on



GOLD CROSS

(actual size)

FOUND AT LAKENHEATH

SUFFOLK

W. Burdett F.S.A.
1852

In the possession of William Eagle Esq.

whose soule Jhū haue mercy.' The figure has the tonsure, and his robe is trimmed with ermine, precisely like that of a judge in Westminster Hall in term time, in either Michaelmas or Hilary term, when ermine is worn. Like the judge, it has ermine at the throat, an ermine edging to the cape, and ermine cuffs.

"I was informed by Mr. Keen, the barrister (who is a Roman Catholic), that this costume is the *cappa parva*, and that it is worn by ecclesiastics of prelatic rank, who are not bishops, on state occasions, in which no religious rite is to be performed. He also informed me that certain officers in the household of the pope, whose offices a good deal resemble those of the chamberlain of a temporal sovereign, have prelatic rank without being bishops.

"The *cappa magna* is a costume of a bishop. This has the cape entirely of ermine, instead of being edged with it only. In a large lithograph of cardinal Wiseman, which may be seen in the window of Messrs. Richardson of Fleet-street, the cardinal is represented wearing the *cappa magna*."

Mr. H. W. Rolfe exhibited a pillow-case, reported to have been taken from Bosworth Field immediately after the battle. It had been stated to have belonged to Richard III; was of a small size, composed of fine linen, and made to close by means of sixteen buttons and holes curiously worked. It was marked with an arched crown worked in silk. Doubts were expressed in relation to the antiquity of this article, and it was considered as of not earlier date than the time of Charles II.

Mr. Rolfe also exhibited a beautiful specimen of carving in ivory, the subject being an itinerant musician, having a hurdy-gurdy, to the music of which he appeared to be singing. Other carvings were laid before the Association by Mr. Rolfe: 1, a rosary, formed of a close-grained wood, having ten beads, large and small, for the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*. To them was suspended a cross, formed of three perforated pieces, the lower portion being in the form of a globe, and highly carved. Beneath the cross was a medallion, carved only on one side, and there representing a monk or friar, in very fine relief. The portrait was conjectured to be that of St. Dominic, or one of his order. 2. Two wood-carvings of lions.

Mr. Thos. Gunston exhibited a Dutch tobacco-box, engraved in an elaborate manner. It was referred, to be arranged with other articles of a similar description, which have been submitted to the Association, and will be brought forward at a future time.

Mr. Burkitt exhibited a gold Saxon cross (see plate 24), which was dug out of a gravel-pit at Lakenheath, near Brandon, in Suffolk, about two years since. It is in the possession of W. Eagle, esq., and was obtained from the workman who found it. Mr. Burkitt called the attention of the meeting to its elegant design and high finish. The stones, or composition, with which, on one side, it is completely studded, are inserted in

the usual manner still adopted by jewellers, each cavity containing, beneath the stone, a piece of gold foil. The coin of Heraclius, which forms the centre, was doubtless adopted on account of the high veneration in which the emperor was held by the early Christian church, he having achieved a succession of brilliant and successful campaigns against the Persian king, who had demanded of him and his subjects to abjure Christ, and pay worship to the sun. These events occurred from A.D. 622 to 627, the first year being that in which Mahommed assumed the character of prophet, after his flight into Medina. Heraclius supported the doctrine of the Monothelites, who taught that the human nature of Jesus Christ was entirely passive under the will of his divine nature. The coin is in a very fine state of preservation, and bears on the obverse the heads of Heraclius, and his son Heraclius Constantine; and on the reverse, the figure of the cross, *potent*, on *grieces*. Mr. Burkitt expressed his opinion that this beautiful and unique specimen may fairly have the date of the seventh century assigned to it.

Mr. Gould exhibited a series of pen and ink drawings of different parts of London, representing the fortifications erected by Cromwell. They were executed by capt. John Eyre, of the Eyres of Bakewell, Derbyshire, and of Cromwell's regiment; and are, together with a letter from capt. Eyre to his brother, and other memoranda, in the possession of Mr. Peter Thompson of Oxford-street, whose intention it is to publish them. They are exceedingly interesting, and give figures of some buildings of which, perhaps, no other views are to be obtained. They are thus enumerated:

"Nos. 1, 2, 3, redoubt at St. Giles's Pound, Tiburn-road, and across Tiburn-road. 4. Oliver's Mount (now Mount-street, Grosvenor-square). 5, 6. Tiburn Brook, and St. James's Park. 7. Chelsey Road. 8. Tot-hill Fields. 9. Foxhall. 10, 11. Blackman-street. 12. Kent-street. 13. Gravel-lane. 14. Whitechapel. 15. Brick-lane. 16, 17. Shoreditch and Edmonton. 18. Islington. 19. St. John-street. 20. London. 21. Gray's Inn-lane. 22. Southampton House Old and New Fortifications."

Capt. Eyre, Mr. Gould stated, had been a friend and travelling companion of prince Charles; but being present at the trial of Hampden, he was so struck and overcome by the proceedings, as to be completely gained to the party and principles of the patriot. He quitted the prince, was introduced by Hampden to Cromwell, and obtained an appointment in the Protector's own regiment; valiantly fought for him, and received several wounds in the service of the parliament, and a mortal one at the celebrated battle of Marston Moor, whence he was removed to Bakewell, where he died July 23, 1644.

Mr. W. H. King exhibited the impression of a seal found near the ancient and once magnificent seat of Flemings, in Runwell. The legend upon it he has not been able to decipher satisfactorily. His first supposition was, that it was the coat of Astle, or Astley, who bear "*azure*, a

cinquefoil *ermine*"; but the crest differs from that commonly used by that family. The first word of the legend is clearly "Thomas", the second is not unlike "Astle", supposing the latter to be partly in monogram; but the word on the dexter side of the seal is not legible,—at least, by following the letters in the ordinary way; but placing the dexter side of the seal before you, and reading from the head of a lion represented upon it, Mr. King says the word seems like "Undwin", which is more like that of a *person* than a *place*; though, should the *second* word be a *surname*, the *third* would probably be a *place*. Mr. King cannot make Runwell of it. He has procured all the names he could find of persons bearing a single cinquefoil, and compared them, without better success. A family named Fleming bore a cinquefoil; but Flemyng, of Flemyngs in Runwell, bore, "*or*, a chev. between three bulls' heads *gutté d'or*"; and Capdow, or Copto, who married the daughter and heir of the last Flemyng of this place, bore also a cinquefoil charged with five roundels. The shape of the seal was similar to the watch-seals of the last century, the top being pierced with a trefoil of rather elongated leaves. It was of latten or brass, and in the hands of a pedlar, who bought old metals. He was, unfortunately, unable to secure it, and suspects that it was melted down.

Mr. H. W. King exhibited, by the permission of H. C. Nevill, esq., a finely-illuminated breviary of the fourteenth century, on vellum, accompanied by the following remarks:

"The volume belonged to one of the canonesses of the noble chapter of St. Waldru, or Waltrude, Mons Hannonia, Belgium. At the beginning, on one of the fly-leaves, is the form of the reception of a young lady into the chapter, in old French. Later, those beautiful books were given to the prebendaries nominated by the emperor, when the countess canonesses had ceased to sing in the stalls of St. Waltrude. There are several forms of admission, in different hands, of late periods. The binding is modern; but the clasps, which are of silver-gilt, and richly chased, are evidently coeval with the manuscript. One of them is ornamented with the figure of St. Christopher, holding a staff in his hands, and bearing our Lord, as a child, on his shoulders. The other has the figure of St. Catherine, crowned, resting her right hand on a sword, holding a wheel upon her left arm, and trampling upon Maximin. These figures are in high relief, each standing under a crocketed ogee canopy. Those portions of the clasps fastened to the binding are coats of arms, composed of gold, silver, and enamel. One, quarterly, first and fourth, *gules*, ten lozenges, conjoined 3, 3, 3, and 1, *argent*. Second and third, *or*; a chief, bendy, *gules* and *argent*. The other, quarterly, first and fourth, *vert*; nine bezants, 3, 3, and 3, palewise. Second and third, *gules*, a lion, rampant, *argent*. The arms are the same on both clasps."

Mr. Davis laid before the Association the bill of Thomas Berthelet, as

king's printer, for books sold and bound, and for statutes and proclamations furnished to the government, in 1541-43. (See *Original Documents*, pp. 44-52 *ante*.)

APRIL 14.

The following associates were elected :

F. R. Pickersgill, esq., A.R.A., 36, Mornington-crescent.

Robert Hannah, esq., 2, Alfred-place West, Brompton.

John Turner, esq., 4, Lower Belgrave-street.

Patrick Allan Fraser, esq., Arbroath, N.B.

Presents were received from :

The Cambrian Archæological Association. Archæologia Cambrensis, April 1852. 8vo.

Mons. De Lisle. Mémoire sur les Baillis du Cotentin, par M. De Lisle. Caen, 1851. 4to.

Antiquarian Etching Club. Publications. Part III, 1851. 4to.

Mr. H. W. Rolfe exhibited a large fragment of a "bellarmine", or longbeard. The head, with the ornament beneath it, was quite perfect. An account of this particular form of jug is given in the fifth volume of the *Journal* (pp. 22-39).

Mr. Rolfe also exhibited a portion of a tile, the figure or ornament of which was formed of four colours,—blue, green, and two different tints of yellow. The tile and the bellarmine were both of the sixteenth century, and found, about six months since, in making an excavation for the foundation of a house in the old Artillery Ground, near Union-street, Spitalfields, belonging to Mr. James Delamere, of Homerton, who kindly sent for exhibition three tradesmen's tokens, found a short time since in his garden :

1. "At the black boay"; figure of a boy, having a pipe in his right hand, and a pot in his left. *Rev.* "In. Ratcliff, 1651." N.V.E.

2. "Francis Morley, at the" (tree in the centre, signifying cherry-tree). *Rev.* "His halfpenny F.M.M. (encircled). In Barbican, 1668."

3. In the centre a figure of a hart, encircled by "Ann Nickolls, at the White". *Rev.* "Her halfpenny, 1668. In Mare-street, in Hackney."

Mr. Rolfe also laid before the meeting two tokens found on making the approach to Victoria Park, through the gardens of Bonner Hall.

1. In the centre the figure of a friar holding a crucifix. *Leg.* "James Waters" * * * (obliterated). *Rev.* J. w. (surrounded by "Gray Friar's Gate".)

2. "William Meares at the (figures of three tuns). *Rev.* W M M * * * low (perhaps Harlow) 1668."

Also a Maundy token of queen Anne. *Obv.* Effigy of the queen. *Leg.* "Anna Regina". *Rev.* Figure of a female (Charity) bestowing an alms on an aged man. *Leg.* "All for" (the poor understood).

Mr. Scott exhibited a fine specimen of enamel, dug up at Petworth in 1772. The subject consisted of the profile of a man, on an elliptical ground, having apparently the letters SANS ON LEFOR near the superior edge of the field. It is the property of Mr. Wood of Nunhead.

Mr. Scott also exhibited a silver fibula, weighing 2 dwts., found at Lewisham, belonging to Mr. Wingrove, an associate (see woodcut annexed). Also a silver ring, found in the Thames near Staines. It was a betrothal ring, and belongs to Mr. C. Hall.

A paper "On the Tenth Iter of Antoninus", by Mr. Just of Bury, was read (see pp. 35-43, *ante*). Mr. Pettigrew stated that Mr. Just had acquainted him of his intention to devote a part of the ensuing summer to the continuation of his researches, and that when finished, he should have the satisfaction of communicating to the Association an accurate account of the Roman remains as they now exist on the ground.



Mr. O'Connor exhibited, by the kind permission of his friend Mr. Stevens, a collection of antiquities, found at different times in different parts of Ireland. They consist of the following specimens, from which a selection will be figured and described in a future *Journal*. Three stone celts, Five bronze ditto. One bronze spear head, found near Drimna castle, county Dublin. One other, different shape. One other, large size and perfect, found at Athenry, county Galway. One bronze sword in four pieces, ditto. One bronze dagger (small). One sword handle, ornamented and gilt, found where the battle of the Boyne was fought between William III and James II. One chased ancient bronze sword guard. One portion of another. One plain bronze cross. One bronze fibula. Four bronze rings. One bronze ecclesiastical ring, found at Drimna castle. One bronze escutcheon, surmounted by a crown. One bronze bit of a bridle. One portion of ditto. Two bronze buckles. One bronze grotesque figure of a man. One ditto pair of compasses. Three ditto bosses of shields—different patterns. Specimens of African iron ring money. Crystal ornament, set in silver, from the cover of a book. Bronze cover of a casket, chased.

The exhibition of these articles gave rise to a conversation on the component parts of bronzes found at different times and in different localities, and the subject was agreed to be considered at the next meeting.

Mr. H. W. King exhibited, by the permission of H. C. Nevill, esq., three pieces of embroidery belonging to ecclesiastical vestments, upon which he made the following observations:—

"These orfrays were recently purchased at Liege, and although not of great antiquity, are interesting specimens of the style of art at the period of their execution. They are extremely rich, a large portion of gold thread being used in their composition. The oldest piece is part of a

dalmatic of the latter part of the sixteenth century. The subjects embroidered are the Annunciation and Salutation of the Virgin, under debased Gothic canopies. The other two pieces are, a cross belonging to the back of a chasuble, and part of the orfray of a cope or other vestment, and are clearly of the date of the seventeenth century.

"The subjects on the former are, in the centre, the Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St. John. In the right arm of the cross, Elias, with a scroll and a red mantle and cap, as he is also represented on the rood-screen at Westhall. In the left arm of the cross is David, with a scroll, bearing his name, but without his usual attributes.

"On the stem of the cross are two saints under canopies; the upper, perhaps, intended for St. John the Baptist; nimbed, holding a long cross in his right hand, and a book in his left. The lower is St. Francis of Assisium, nimbed, clad in his friar's habit, with *stigmata* on his hands and feet.

"On the remaining piece are represented St. Catharine, crowned and nimbed, with a broken wheel at her feet, a sword in her right hand, and trampling on Maximin; and another saint, not identified, nimbed, and vested for the mass. These are under canopies, precisely similar to those in the cruciform piece.

"The decline in the art of embroidery is very perceptible on comparing these specimens with those of earlier execution. In the two *later* pieces, now exhibited, the figure of the Redeemer, and the faces and hands of the saints, are formed of pieces of white satin, the shadows being subsequently tinted with pink dye, and the only needlework introduced in the flesh parts, is in the outlines, and more prominent features. The inferiority of the whole to the portion of an *antependium* exhibited to the Association in 1851, and described in vol. vii, p. 164, of the *Journal*, but especially in the execution of the figures, is particularly apparent. The embroidery is the property of the rev. John Bonus."

Mr. H. W. King also exhibited a beautiful impression of a seal—the seal of Southwick abbey—taken in gutta percha and gilt, which was also sent by H. C. Nevill, esq.

A paper on ancient painted glass in Morley church, by Mr. J. G. Waller, was read (see pp. 28-34, *ante*). This church was visited by the Association during the Derby Congress, and the glass obligingly explained by Mr. Osborne Bateman. The rev. Mr. Fox, rector of Morley, had kindly entrusted to Mr. Waller the tracings made from the windows, four of the subjects of which are figured in plates 11 and 12. Mr. O'Connor stated that a friend of his possessed the original tracings, and that he would take an early opportunity of submitting them, together with others of considerable interest, to the Association; and promised also to offer some remarks upon the difference of the styles of different dates, and point out by positive ancient examples wherein that exists, and show

how very much superior the earlier glass was to any of the fifteenth century, and how much more worthy of study those earlier examples are.

Mr. Duesbury made some observations relative to Morley church and Dale abbey, the substance of which is embodied in a note appended to Mr. Waller's paper (see p. 34, *ante*).

Mr. Pettigrew laid before the Association a portion of the wax obtained by professor Lyon Playfair from the wrappings of the body of bishop Lyndewode. It was of a dark-brown colour, and Mr. Pettigrew entertained no doubt that the peculiar chocolate hue given to the body was attributable to the wax that had been employed for the preservation of the bishop.

APRIL 28.

The following were elected Associates :

Edward Porter, esq., 6, St. James's-place.

Robert Curling, esq., 67, Cambridge-terrace.

The following present was laid upon the table :

From the Archaeological Institute. Their Journal, No. 33.

Mr. White drew attention to the subject of analysis of bronze, adverted to at the previous meeting. He remarked that it was exceedingly difficult, nay, almost impossible, upon mere inspection of bronze antiquities, to say whether they belonged to the time of the Romans, or of Charles I, or James I. In the intermediate period no one could mistake the time of those productions, but upon the late bronze remains it was exceedingly difficult to determine. A system to give anything like certainty was only to be obtained by analysis. He did not suppose there was much variation in the general composition of copper and tin, or of copper, zinc, and tin; but in some of them they would find small traces of certain other metals, native or imported. He had little doubt that many of the bronzes, supposed to be the early productions of this country, would have in them a small proportion of gold. They would find that gold existed in native copper, especially in that found in Cornwall and other districts, and that it did not exist in the native copper of some other countries. The specimens exhibited by Mr. O'Connor belonged to various periods; some were undoubtedly very old, and others again comparatively modern.

Dr. W. V. Pettigrew offered to have careful analyses made of any specimens with which the members of the Association might be disposed to favour him; and he trusted it might be a means of determining the period to which they belonged, and also the locality whence they had been obtained.

Mr. Pettigrew felt much interest in the question, and in the analyses of ancient coins, weapons, etc. The vagueness and uncertainty of all information to be derived from the ancients in regard to the particulars of their acquaintance with metallurgy, had led Mr. J. A. Phillips, of the

Chemical Society, to make an analytical examination of the various objects of antiquity to be met with in metal; and he had endeavoured to arrange the results in a series agreeably to the date of the periods to which they respectively belong. These he would now lay before the Association. The metals entering into the composition of brass of the earliest ages were found to be copper, tin, and lead, the latter occurring only in an inconsiderable portion, except in the most ancient coins, and in many of these, the early Macedonian for example, it was entirely wanting. In addition to the metals named, traces of iron, cobalt and nickel, were found together, with a small quantity of sulphur. The presence of these, in the opinion of Mr. Phillips, is to be ascribed to the localities whence the ancients drew their supply of ores, and the imperfect methods employed for their reduction, rather than to any design on the part of the artists. In the cutting instruments which have been examined, copper and tin, with the occasional admixture of a small quantity of lead (added probably to give a toughness to the alloy), were uniformly found to be the constituents; and it is remarkable that, both in the celts and sword blades, the proportion of tin to that of copper was very nearly as one to ten. The presence of zinc was first ascertained a short time before the Christian era, and is continued in all subsequent coins until those of the small brass of Victorinus, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, etc., when silver appears to supply its place, varying from 0.76 to nearly 8 per cent. It does not appear that any coin is to be found which consists of copper alone; and the only instance in which this metal has been met with unalloyed, proved to be in a spear-head, found in Ireland. The largest proportion of lead occurs in the ancient Roman "as", in which Mr. Phillips conjectured it was probably employed for the purpose of rendering the alloy, of which they consist, easily fusible; for these coins being only cast and not stamped, a metal melting at a low temperature would materially facilitate this operation. The later coins, which were found to contain a large proportion of tin, seem to have been struck whilst the metal was still warm, as it would be impossible to obtain such sharp impressions as they usually bear, by the force of any blow applied on a metal so very hard and brittle, at ordinary temperatures.

Mr. White remarked that he not only wished to establish the amount of metal peculiar to the bronze of each country, but to show there would be in some a certain amount of gold, either separately introduced, or in combination with the native copper of the particular country. It was very certain that in the native copper of this country there was a certain proportion of gold, and it was equally certain that *that* was not the case in the native copper of countries to the east, in the bronzes of which, if gold were found, it would prove that it had been introduced in a separate state. Little variations of alloy in the admixture of lead, tin, and zinc

might be accidental ; but that which he more especially wished to regard was *the small amount of gold*. Could they do that, they could always tell whence the copper came. The richest native copper was that of Cornwall and Ireland. The copper of the former place contained the largest proportion of gold : if they went to the eastward they would find a less proportion. That was the solution he wished to be worked out ; it was very easy ; but not so where there was a large proportion of tin in the admixture, on account of the oxydation of the tin ; but to find the amount of gold in that case might be readily effected by recourse to a different analysis. That fact, once satisfactorily determined, would lead to the solution of the question, Whence did the bronze come ? Were the bronze articles they found in Britain produced in Britain, or came they from foreign countries ? That might be settled at once from the amount of gold in the admixture. If the proportion of gold were small, or entirely wanting, the bronze was perhaps from Phœnicia or some other place ; but if the proportion of gold were in accordance with our native copper, then the bronze was the production of Britain itself. The proportion of lead, tin, and zinc, but more especially zinc, was another very important question.

Mr. Pettigrew read the following communication he had received from Mr. George Vere Irving, in reference to the drawings of London Fortifications, exhibited by Mr. Gould at the previous meeting :—

“ I take the liberty of sending you a short explanation of the observations I made at the last meeting of the Society, in regard to the drawings and plan of the fortifications of London, which were then exhibited ; as from my ignorance that the subject would be brought forward, I suspect I did not express myself very clearly.

“ Along with the drawings exhibited there was produced a ground-plan, which bore that it exhibited the fortifications of London, *with those added by order of the parliament* ; and, observing that the one marked No. 11 on this plan, was a regular square fortification, with bastions at the corners, I asked if it could be ascertained whether this particular fort had previously existed, or whether it was one of those added when the city was threatened by the Royal Forces. Supposing it to have been a previously existing defence, and presuming, naturally, that in this case it must have existed for some considerable time, as the erection of fortifications is not an every-day occurrence, it would have been curious as a very early authenticated instance of the use of the triangular bastion, and might have thrown light on the vexed question of the date at which this mode of defence was first adopted, and the person who had the merit of introducing it. I have, since the meeting, referred to the map in Maitland's History of London, ‘ of the city and suburbs, as fortified by order of parliament in the years 1642 and 3,’ and after comparing it with ‘ The Plan of London, about the year 1560,’ and the map

of the environs attached to it, I have no hesitation in coming to the conclusion, that as there are no vestiges of the fortification referred to in the earlier maps, we must refer it and the others of the same class to the time of the Commonwealth.

" Being thus compelled to fix the date of these fortifications as late as 1642 and 1643, I am sorry to say, that so far from our being able to cite them as early instances of scientific defences, an examination of the whole, as contained in Maitland, obliges us to confess that our English engineers must have been unaccountably and lamentably behind their foreign competitors in a knowledge of their art.

" We may pass over, as not sufficiently authenticated, the allegations that Lisca introduced the bastion when fortifying Tabor, in Bohemia, during the Hussite wars (1420-35); that Achmet Bashaw fortified Otranto in this manner in 1480; that San Michele built bastions at Verona in 1523 and 1529; that Antwerp had them added to its defences in 1540; and that the Duke of Alva enlarged and strengthened these in 1566. But we find in the *Architectura von Verstungen* of Speckle, printed at Strasburgh in 1599, a statement that the author was born in 1536, and died in 1589; and this work undoubtedly contains the clearest description of the bastion and most accurate drawings of it, as applied to the different figures of forts, showing, moreover, that a pentagonal is superior to a square fort, and a hexagonal to either; independent of which, the second edition of '*La Fortification démontrée et réduite en Art, par I. Evrard, de Bar le Duc, ingenieur du très Chrestien roy de France et Navarez*' (Henry IV), was published in 1604, at Paris, and innumerable editions of it, revised by his nephew, were issued in 1619, and subsequent years. In it the great principles of fortification, as recognised even now, are clearly annunciated, and their truth mathematically demonstrated. In book ii, chap. 1, the first of these leading maxims is thus stated, '*que l'angle flanqué* (now called the interior angle of the bastion), *doit pour le moins être droit*', which cannot be the case in a square fort. As the consequence of this, he proves in the second chapter of the same book, *que l'hexagone a l'angle du centre de 60 degrez, et est la première figure régulière qui peut être commodement fortifiée*. He returns to the square fort in the third chapter of the third book, and clearly shows the faults of this form of fortification.

" Considering the immense circulation which this latter work had attained, as evinced by the numerous editions of it, and recollecting that both it and the '*Architectura*' of Speckle had appeared half a century before 1642, we must certainly observe with surprise, that the highest efforts of the engineers of the Commonwealth did not extend, even in their 'large forts' (of which there are two, viz., at Hyde Park Corner, and at the end of Blackman-street,) beyond the square, with bastions at the corners, which had been shewn to be defective, while in their lesser

defences—such as ‘*the quadrant fort, with four half bulwarks*’, of which there are four—at New River Upper Pond, at Wardour-street, at the Dog and Duck, St. George’s Fields, and at Vauxhall; and still more, in their ‘*redoubts with four flanks*’, of which there are three—Hackney-road, Kingsland-road, and Kent-road; they have abandoned every principle of scientific fortification.

“Speaking from recollection of the ground plan exhibited, it strikes me that it does not entirely correspond with that in Maitland; and, at all events, it was at variance with the elevations exhibited at the same time. I think it would be well that the publisher’s attention should be directed to this before the proposed engravings are issued.”

Mr. Duesbury attached but little importance to the discrepancy in the elevation and ground plan. Captain Eyre, in all probability, drew what he saw, and expressed it as he thought he saw it; that was apparent from the errors in the perspective. The ground plan should be regarded as a general sketch, more to show the relative positions of the places than likenesses of those places. The elevation on a larger scale was to show the likeness,—the exact appearance. The elevation and ground plan were on a scale of from six to eight inches to three-eighths of an inch. In the latter, they would not care so much about the form. The old churches are shown as they knew from other sources they did exist. The discrepancy he did not think was really worth attention. In the ground plan, captain Eyre might have put a circle or square; to express that there stood a bastion. The figure would be drawn merely to show the bastion was there; not to show the form of it: that was the meaning; they could not call that a discrepancy. That point was not sufficient to invalidate those drawings. He regarded them as authentic and valuable.

Mr. White said he had just received from Mr. Scott one of the plates of Knight’s *London*, showing the facsimile of Maitland’s plan; it bore out the drawing, and was like the fortification. Also the bastion in question he considered did not occupy so much the rank of a fortification as a defence for the road itself. It was calculated for defence, either inside or outside, and to hold a position on the main road as a fortified gate rather than a bastion. He must say, he thanked God that he knew little about fortification; but he did know, he was very sure, that if such a fortification or bastion could defend any place at all, it must have been for a defence to the road. Every one of those were for defence, equally inside or outside, and were detached forts, with earth-works between them. It was evident they were to defend the roads.

Mr. Egan remarked they were what the Romans called obstructives.

Mr. White said they were not bastions—but mere gates—forts to defend the roads; and London being what it was then, particularly in the winter season, those few positions would effectually defend the whole of the

approaches. In regard to the drawings themselves, many persons, coming to a conclusion from comparison, and judging those drawings by the appearance of London at the present day, would think them incorrect. But they should remember they were made before the fire of London, before the authorized alterations of the levels. A most singular alteration in the levels was effected at the time of the rebuilding of London. At Aldgate, for example, the ground rose without the city, and was lower within; was lowered at one side, and raised on the other; therefore, Aldgate, in our time, would have a very different appearance to that it had before the alteration in the levels. Again; would they consider the alterations in the level of the valley of the Fleet; the fall there was at Finsbury most excessive, they would hardly believe it at the present day; the fall at Walbrook was so very great,—the valley at Walbrook was filled up to ten or twelve feet. The question, he conceived, might be very easily settled as to the drawings being either correct or incorrect. The one or the other could be proved by a very simple test. If correct, the buildings, or any two of them, would stand now in the same position when viewed from the same point. Now, if at that point they could find two other buildings in a line,—if correct, it would show them so. If they found that certain buildings did not correspond in regard to their position, when viewed from different points, they might then conclude they were made up. He would be very glad to make one of a party to go and try that test, and compare the drawings with the existing buildings, which they, in part, were intended to represent; and he felt pretty certain they would find them correctly taken.

Mr. Planché had not seen the drawings, therefore should only waste time in speculation without proofs. He could only judge from the two facsimiles in his hands; and of those he would not speak in regard to fortification, but observed, that if the drawings were not genuine, they were certainly remarkably good imitations of the costume of that period, with which he was well acquainted.

Mr. Scott said he had adopted Mr. White's plan in regard to one of the drawings, and visited Vauxhall a few days since. They would remember the four almshouses laid down in the plan; he found them to agree with the position on the plan, and would add, that the four almshouses would be taken down in less than a month, so that if any gentleman wished to see them, there was no time to lose.

Mr. J. W. Butterworth drew the attention of the Association to the threatened removal of the crypt at Gerard's Hall, Basing Lane. The subject was directed to be specially considered at the next meeting.

Mr. Planché called attention to a fine sword of the fifteenth century, sent for exhibition by Mr. Pratt. It was stated to have been found in Kent, but no history of it could be obtained. Mr. Pratt also sent a piece of the railing in front of the altar of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. The



J.L. JEWITT.

ST. ANDREW, CHINNOR, OXFORDSHIRE.

whole was to be seen in Bond Street, at Mr. Pratt's; and Mr. Planché averred that such a piece of iron-work had never before been seen in this country.

Dr. Copland exhibited a box, cased and bound with ornamental iron-work, and divided into several compartments, with trays, cases, etc., and a flap attached to the lid, under which were prints of floral ornaments and figures. The box was of the time of Elizabeth. The fittings of the box were of beech.

Mr. Gunston exhibited some encaustic tiles, carvings in wood, a ring, and rubbings from bells. At a late meeting, Mr. King had advised Members to procure rubbings from bells, and Mr. Gunston had availed himself of an opportunity to procure, though with considerable difficulty, the rubbings from five bells, upon which, and the other articles, he communicated the following:—

“The tiles exhibited were discovered beneath some pews in the N.E. portion of St. Andrew's Church, Chinnor, Oxfordshire. The patterns, consisting severally of a lion (see plate 25, fig. 5), fleur-de-lis (fig. 4), hare (fig. 2), shield of arms (fig. 3), and full-faced demi-figure in a circle (fig. 1), with an open crown fleury, and hair extending each side of the face, similar to busts on coins of Edward I and succeeding reigns, do not offer any peculiarity among the almost endless series of devices found upon the remains of decorative pavements of mediæval art in ecclesiastical edifices; but their exceeding usefulness in frequently supplying information regarding heraldry, personal devices, memorials, mostly of benefactors to the fabric which they adorned, combined with other objects of antiquarian interest, induces me to lay them before the Association.

“The rubbings are from the five bells at the same church, the inscriptions and orthography of which are very curious.

“‘Christover King, Thomas Munday, Chvrchwardens, 1651.’ H. K. Honar God 1635.’

“‘Henri Knight made mee 1620.’

“‘Our Father wich art in Heven Halowed be thy name.’ W. R. ‘Thomas Eustace, Christopher Brookes, C.W.H.K. 1663.’

“The oak carvings are of domestic architecture, time of James I, from an outhouse in the village of Chinnor; carved panelling similar to that found may be seen in the church, and was probably brought into use there after the demolition of some houses of importance; which, from the number of brasses now remaining in the church, leads to a supposition that many formerly stood near this spot.

“The ring exhibited is a plain silver one, weighing thirty-two grains, probably a wedding-ring; inscribed in the inner part, ‘*I Love to Live*’, and the letters I. R. crowned; either cut or broken across; found near the above village. A similar ring was also found near this spot, with corresponding opening, inscribed ‘*I Love in Heart*’.”

MAY 12.

The following presents were received :

From T. J. Pettigrew, esq. On the Deities of the Amenti, as found in Egyptian Mummies. By T. J. Pettigrew, esq. 4to.

— Report of the Committee of the Society of Antiquaries upon the Discovery of a Body in St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster. 4to.

From J. Y. Akerman, esq. Ancient Tombs, called Huns-graves, in the Netherlands, by W. White, esq. 4to.

Mr. Briggs forwarded some "Notes on a Building called St. Bride's, situated in the Parish of Stanton-by-Bridge, Derbyshire":—

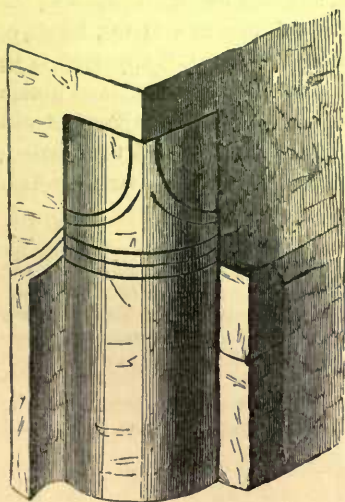
"On the left side of the road which leads from the village of Stanton to that of Tickenhall, is a lone farm, situated on the estate of sir John Harpur Crewe, bart., and in the occupation of Mr. Asher. In old documents this spot is called St. Bride's; it still bears that name; and tradition asserts that *upon it once stood a religious house*, but of what order or description is not stated. Local topographical works make allusion to this place; and, until a very recent period, the tradition alluded to has been treated as an idle fable. Recent discoveries of human remains, in conjunction with other circumstances, however, tend very much to confirm the truth of it. The spot where this religious house is supposed to have stood, is very lonely, formerly having been part of a wild common; and at the time the house was erected, the soil immediately surrounding it must have been extremely barren, and covered with furze and fern. In this particular, the situation would differ materially from that of most abbeys and monasteries in the same neighbourhood, which were generally located amidst fertile lands and delicious scenery. The house stood about half way down the slope of a range of hills, slightly sheltered from the north and west, open to the south and south-east, and sufficiently high to command an extensive view over the neighbouring country. Near it was a well (which still remains), and which poured down the slope a copious stream of sparkling water; supplying, no doubt, the ecclesiastical inhabitants with that element, and feeding some fish-pools, the remains of which may still be traced. This well is rudely covered at the head, and edged round with coarse, thick stones, the angles of which, by frequent use through a long series of years, have rounded off.

"A space of ground on the south side of the present house appears to have been the grave-yard, and abounds with fragments of bones,—the herbage of it, too, displaying a luxuriance which contrasts strongly with that of the land on the outside of the enclosure.

"During the first week in March 1852, the tenant on the farm was planting some fruit-trees, and, about a foot beneath the surface of the ground, discovered the remains of several human beings. They had evidently been found at a previous period, and again carefully deposited, as

the skulls and bones, etc., were mixed together, and put into a grave constructed with worked stone for the purpose. The teeth in the skulls were white and sound; but the other bones were much decayed, and fell to dust upon exposure to the air. No trinkets or ornaments of any description were brought to light.

"Having examined the house, now standing, with considerable attention, I am inclined to think that it occupies the site of one still older; and that, when the original structure was destroyed, some of the materials were used in the construction of the one now standing. Scattered over different parts of the present house are many singularly-sculptured stones, which have evidently ornamented some other structure at a former period. The figures upon them are various, and extremely rude, both in design and execution, and appear to have formed portions of enriched capitals and mouldings in the interior of some ecclesiastical edifice. Some of them are similar to the figures on the capitals of the pillars in Melbourne Church, which has been considered to be early Norman. One stone, which we have endeavoured to represent, has evidently been a tympanum; and on it is the figure of an animal (probably a fox), but so rudely carved that it is impossible to ascertain precisely what the sculptor intended to represent.



"Taking all circumstances into consideration, it seems pretty certain that, upon the spot called St. Bride's, an ecclesiastical building of some description has once existed; and it seems very remarkable that no document has been met with which has in any way tended to elucidate its history. St. Bride's would have been situated perhaps a mile and a half from Calke Abbey, and about five miles from the priory of Repton.

"I have thrown together these few notes in the hope that Messrs. Planché, Ashpitel, Jewitt, Halliwell, and other gentlemen, whose interesting papers have illuminated the

dim vaults of Derbyshire antiquities, may have it in their power to communicate something in reference to the history of St. Bride's, which, as far as I am aware, has entirely escaped the notice of the topographer and historian."¹

Mr. Oliveira exhibited some beautiful specimens of carving, embroidery, and chasing, in silver, obtained by him lately in Spain and Portugal. The subjects were scriptural. Mr. Oliveira was unable to ascertain any particulars as to their history. The chasings in silver represented Faith, Hope, Charity, St. Catherine trampling on Maximin, and the Virgin and Child. The figures in embroidery were: St. Simon, St. Bartholomew, St. Paul, and St. John. The "Flagellation", carved in alabaster, and "Jacob's Dream", in ivory, are beautifully and minutely executed.

Mr. Calder Marshall exhibited a brass seal, in which, upon examination, it was discovered that the name in the inscription had been taken out, a groove made, and fresh metal inserted, upon which another name was inscribed. "Sigillum" was in the original character.

Mr. Black directed the attention of the meeting to a portion of a large collection of rubbings from brasses which formerly belonged to Mr. Geo. Baker, the historian of Northamptonshire. Specimens relating to the Wigville and Catesby families were pointed out, and the remainder referred for particular examination and reference.

The present condition and future prospects of the crypt at Gerard's Hall were then entered upon. Mr. White, on the part of the committee appointed by the council, detailed all the particulars relating to this interesting building, reviewed the several proposals which had been made with regard to its preservation or removal, and laid before the meeting the drawings that had been taken of it, and which are now in the hands of the engraver. After a full consideration of the subject, it appeared to be the desire of the Association to adopt Mr. Lott's suggestion, and obtain for it a place at Guildhall.² As, however, a description of the crypt will appear in the next *Journal*, it is unnecessary here to detail the particulars, which will be better understood when read by the illustrations which will accompany the paper.

¹ There can be no doubt that the facts stated in this paper, coupled with the traditional name, indicate the former existence of some ecclesiastical establishment on the spot. Perhaps it was a chapelry or a hermitage. The evidences of title might, if examined, afford some satisfactory information upon this question, or at least furnish a clue to the further investigation of the matter, which seems at present involved in great obscurity.

² We regret to find that the Court of Common Council have been under the necessity of rejecting this proposal, as the expense attending upon its removal has been reported to amount to the sum of £5,000.





1 Foot.

F. J. BAIGENT.

BRAMDEAN CHURCH, HANTS.

MAY 26.

The following associates were elected :

William Henry Robinson, esq., Air-street, Piccadilly.

Joseph Barnard Davis, esq., Shelton, Staffordshire.

Edward Salomons, esq., Plymouth-grove, Manchester.

Edward Matthew Ward, esq., A.R.A., Inverness-road, Bayswater.

The following presents were received :

From J. O. Halliwell, esq. A Few Remarks on the Emendation, "Who Smothers her with Painting?" in the Play of "Cymbeline", by J. O. Halliwell, esq. 1852. 8vo.

From J. Y. Akerman, esq. Celtic Remains, from a Tumulus near Scarborough. By Mr. Tissiman. 4to.

Mr. F. J. Baigent, of Winchester, made the following communication :

"*Wall Paintings in Bramdean Church, Hampshire.*"—"The village of Bramdean is situated nine miles from Winchester, and the parish is rather well known now, from the discovery of a Roman villa, with tessellated pavements, about twenty years since, which are still preserved. The church consists of a chancel, nave, and porch, with a small bellcot on the western gable of the nave, and is dedicated to St. Simon and St. Jude. The nave is Norman, with debased windows, and an early doorway on the north side, with a corresponding one in the opposite wall, now blocked up. The chancel arch is transition, and was formerly ornamented with colour (red); but, so little remained, that no pattern could be traced when it was cleaned of the whitewash at the same time as the chancel. The chancel is early English: in each of the side walls are two plain lancet windows, and in the east wall a double lancet. The accompanying pattern (see plate 26) extends over the entire walls of the chancel, and from which the whitewash was removed by the late rector, the Rev. Charles Walters, now rector of Wyke, from whose tracings I have made the drawing, as I preferred this to tracing it myself, as Mr. Walters has *retouched*, or in other words, *repainted* it on the walls. The portion represented in my sketch covers a space of four feet nine inches by three feet one inch; and this, I believe, is *greater* than diaper patterns usually extend over. It consists of three colours only, light red, Indian red, and a grey. The leaves and flowers are painted in Indian red, and the stems in light red, surrounded with grey borders, in such a manner as renders it not unlikely *this pattern* might have been copied from a *glass-painter's* design, the grey outlines being intended to represent the glazing or lead work; but at least it must be regarded as a somewhat remarkable pattern, as well as interesting, and will help to illustrate the manner of enriching the walls of our churches in the thirteenth century, to which period I ascribe it. On one

side, in a brown outline, is represented a *thurible*, with the smoking incense issuing from the perforations of the cover; but there are no indications of the *chains*."

Mr. Baigent also communicated that he had, with the incumbent's permission, commenced an examination of one of the walls of St. John's church, in Winchester. He has already laid bare several square feet, and discovered two figures, one representing St. Andrew the apostle. He has also developed a sitting figure of the Virgin and Child, as large as life, two angels, a curious border of the time of Elizabeth, over an older painting, and a painting in oil, representing the interior of a building, having four windows inclosed within a four-centered arch, terminating in a canopy, on each side of which is the kneeling figure of an angel. This, Mr. Baigent thinks, is of the time of Henry VIII. All these will, when the work is completed, be communicated to the Association, and appear in the *Journal*.

Mr. Wagstaff, through Mr. Scott, exhibited two beautiful handles of Oriental weapons, one of a *krise*, the other of a similar instrument from the Malay peninsula; upon a singularity of which, Mr. Cuming remarked that the workmanship was Chinese, although the weapon was not belonging to that country. These exhibitions gave rise to a discussion on the difficulty of ascertaining the date to which Oriental antiquities belonged; upon which Mr. Pettigrew remarked, that lately reading sir John Davis's new work on "China, during the War and since the Peace", he had met with a passage of interest on this point. Some years since, Mr. Pettigrew had shewn to sir John Davis a Chinese perfume bottle which had been obtained from a tomb at Thebes: it bore an inscription in an ancient Chinese character, and sir John Davis figured the bottle in his work on China. Doubts were entertained as to its antiquity, but the majority of Chinese scholars and antiquaries were favourable to its early character. Other specimens had been met with, and it would appear that sir John Davis had procured one, for he states (vol. ii, p. 65) that upon showing one to the intendant of Shanghae, he pronounced in favour of its antiquity, on account of the smoothness of the standing part, which he said was always rough in modern china.

Mr. Adey Repton communicated further remarks on barrows and their contents, which were referred to be embodied into his previous observations, and to appear in a future number of the *Journal*, with appropriate illustrations.

Mr. Syer Cuming read the following paper:—

"*On the Pān Cases of India.*"—"It has not unfrequently happened that various specimens of art have been laid before this Association with not only apocryphal, but at times entirely erroneous, designations. A brazen cornet, now produced by Dr. Pettigrew, falls into the latter class, for it has been presented to him as a rest or socket, into which the shaft

of the horseman's lance was placed; but, so far from its appertaining to warlike accoutrements, it belongs to the peaceful occupation of chewing, not tobacco, but the compound known in Hindustan under the title of *khili*. This compound consists of the nuts of the *supāri*, or areec or areca palm (*Areca catechu*, Linn.), cut into quarters, and wrapped in the pungent and aromatic leaves of the *nāg-bel*, or *piper betle*,¹ which leaves, previously to being used, are covered with a thin layer of exceedingly fine shell-lime, called *chunam*. This coating is employed with a view of preserving the flavour of the nut and leaves longer in the mouth, and probably also as an antacid. The natives of India are almost constantly chewing this compound; they swallow the saliva tinged with the juice, and eject the rest. The use of the *khili* soon gives the inside of the mouth a tinge of red, like blood; the teeth become dark, but it is said to preserve them, to sweeten the breath, and give a healthy tone to the stomach. Gerarde, in his 'Herball, or Generall Historie of Plantes', says, 'the fruit of Areca, before it be ripe, is reckoned amongst the stupefactive or astonishing medicines; for whosoever eateth thereof waxeth drunke, because it doth exceedingly amaze and astonish the senses'. The *khili* is in some degree to the natives of the East Indies what opium is to the Chinese and Turks; it dulls the sense of pain, both mentally and bodily, and entrances the mind in a working day-dream of delight. The areca nuts are introduced on visits of ceremony, the betel leaves on such occasions being secured by cloves passed through them, and the favourite compound is handed to the guest on an elegant salver, as a signal that the time for departure has arrived.

"The specimen belonging to Dr. Pettigrew is a fine example of a *pān-bottā*, or cornet for betel-leaves, and is of Bengalese manufacture. It is of brass, measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and is engraved in a rich and elegant style, reminding us of the decorations seen upon armour and other works in metal, of the age of Elizabeth. To one side of the rim, which surrounds the mouth, is attached a short chain of ornamented links, to the end of which is secured a tube, through which was passed a cord or narrow belt for suspension. When the whole *khili* apparatus is complete, it consists of the brazen cornet for the *pān*, or betel-leaves, a large razor-shaped knife for dividing the *supāri*, or areca-nuts, a small box, like a cascabel in form, for the *chunam*, and sometimes a pair of tweezers and a bodkin-like instrument, and with these items is a long net bag, in which the nuts are carried.² Examples of the complete paraphernalia may be seen in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society, and also in that of the United Service Institution; and I would direct special attention to one in the latter establishment, used by the Cossiahs,

¹ *Nāg-bel* is the Hindustani name for the entire plant, the leaf is called *pān*.

² Philip Baldæus, in his description of the island of Ceylon, speaks of the Bellales carrying their betel and areca in a bag called *maddi*.

near Sylhet, in Bengal, as affording corroborative evidence as to the purport of the specimen now exhibited.

“A *pān-bottā*, a good deal like the one under consideration, was exhibited to the Association some months back, but not in its pristine condition, for it had been mounted as a handle to a large mediæval seal.

“Although a straight cone is the usual shape of the brazen betel cornet, it is not invariably so, for Mr. Crofton Croker possesses a rare example of one resembling a short ox-horn in figure. The form of the *pān-bottā* would lead to the belief that a natural horn was anciently employed for the purpose of holding the betel-leaf. The specimens which we have hitherto noticed are all of metal; but other materials are used in India in the manufacture of receptacles for the betel-leaf and *chunam*. I now exhibit a beautiful *kevon-eet*, or betel-box, of red japan ware, from Laos, a kingdom of eastern India, subject to Cochin-china: it is cylindrical, stands about five inches high, and is rather more than five inches in diameter. The box contains two lifts or trays; the one, one inch, and the other, one and a half inch deep. The rim of the cover is so deep that it comes within one and a half inches of the bottom of the box. The ground-work of this specimen is formed of strips of bamboo, woven together, as thin and light as possible: this is coated with varnish, paste, etc., and the whole covered with varnish, called *thit-tsi*, i.e., wood-oil, of a bright vermilion red, like sealing-wax. There are thin lines of bamboo round the box, which have the appearance of narrow bands of gilding. This specimen exhibits the *shan yowan-tho*, or *shan*, i.e., Siamese engraving, which is effected in the following manner:—The artist holds the box on his knees with his left hand, and keeps his graver (a needle tied to a stick) almost motionless in his right; he then dexterously turns the box by the help of his knees to meet the graver; the hollows are then filled up with the black.

“Before us is also a vessel for holding the *chunam*, or fine slacked shell-lime, from Ceylon: it is formed of an orange-shaped gourd, the rind being tooled out in a lattice pattern, with a cross at each intersection, the incised lines being filled up with some black substance, producing a coarse species of niello-work.

“The razor-shaped knife,¹ forming part of the appendage to the *pān-bottā*, has already been mentioned; and it will be well now to say a few words regarding the nippers used in the division of the areca-nuts, for they are frequently sold under the terrific title of knives for cutting out the tongues of criminals. The nippers vary in length from three to fourteen inches, and consist of two limbs, moving on a hinge or pivot at one end. The upper limb is provided with a sharp blade; the lower,

¹ At a subsequent meeting, Mr. Scott produced a specimen of this kind, and Mr. Pettigrew, examples of *chunam*, of different colours, used at Madras as plaster for the walls of their habitations. It takes an exceedingly fine polish.

upon which the fruit is placed, is broad and divided, so that it receives and protects the cutting edge of the instrument when it is closed. Those for common use are unadorned; but the nippers employed in the dwellings of the wealthier classes are beautiful examples of Hindû cutlery, upon the decoration of which the eastern goldsmith is called to exercise his art. The handles are at times fashioned in the shape of men, dragons, and fanciful forms of rich design. Many examples may be seen in the museums of the East India Company, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the United Service Institution; and, among the Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum is a most curious specimen of what would appear to be an areca-nut nipper of iron, five and a half inches long, which is described in the synopsis as a 'knife of a late period and peculiar construction; it consists of a broad cutting blade, moving on a pivot at the end, and working in a groove by means of a handle: it is probably of the Arabic era.'

"The specimen exhibited by Dr. Pettigrew is in reality a *pān-bottā*, or betel vessel; and a specimen of nearly similar contour, but of gold, and measuring 21 inches in length, was discovered in 1844, a few miles from Poitiers, in France, and a like example is in the Museum at Munich: these have been pronounced quivers for arrows, when in fact there are valid reasons for thinking them drinking cups. The production of such specimens as that before us does good service to science, for they raise discussion, direct inquiry, and frequently elicit that which ever ought to be our aim and object—the dissipation of error, and the development and establishment of truth."

Mr. Joseph Warren, of Ixworth, exhibited a collection of rings obtained by him at various times, and possessing different degrees of interest. They consist of a gold ring (Saxon), found near Coggeshall; a silver ring (Saxon), found at Ixworth; three brass rings, respectively found at Ixworth, Icklington, and Wymondham; a gold ring, found at Wymondham; a gold ear-ring (Saxon), found at Ixworth; a Roman thumb-ring; a silver ring, with gold setting; a silver ring, gilt, with inscription,—the latter three found at Wymondham; and a gold brooch, with inscription, found at Stow Market. These have been ordered to be figured, and will be given in a future *Journal*.

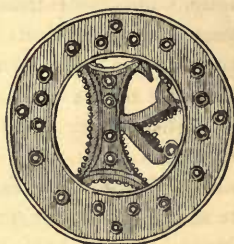
Mr. Joseph Clarke, of Easton, sent for exhibition a testoon, or shilling, of Edward VI; also the impression of a gold coin found at Hoo about two years since. The testoon was found near Framlingham, and is of fine silver; weight, about sixty-four grains. *Obv.* Crowned bust; to the left, EDWARD VI. D. G. AGL. F. RA. Z. HIB. REX. (m. m. T. R.) *Rev.* "Timor Domini Fons Vitæ. MDXLIX. (m. m. L.)", with oval shield, containing arms garnished between E. R. (See Ruding, pl. ix, No. 11.)

Mr. Clarke also communicated that he had paid a visit to Roses Pit, to inspect a Roman vault which had been found on March 30, 1850. It

was about four feet from the surface of the ground, and about two feet in depth, and one foot and a half in width; and had contained five urns, some teeth and other bones, and a horn. The men who discovered it were carting gravel from the pit, and they allowed it to fall to the bottom, which broke the vault and urns into pieces, a portion of which, together with the horn and bones, are in Mr. Clarke's possession. Another urn was found in the same pit in March 1851. In this month, men digging earth found, about eighteen inches from the surface, seven or eight small Roman urns, one of which contained ashes and portions of bone; these fell to pieces upon exposure to the air. Mr. Clarke states that he found in the Roses Pit a Roman bronze fibula, similar to that figured in the *Antiquities of Richborough and Reculver*, No. 2, p. 81, with the exception that Mr. Clarke's has no ornament where the pin falls into, and the end is square.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a pilgrim's token of the fifteenth century, found in Brick Hill-lane in March last. (See annexed wood-cut.)

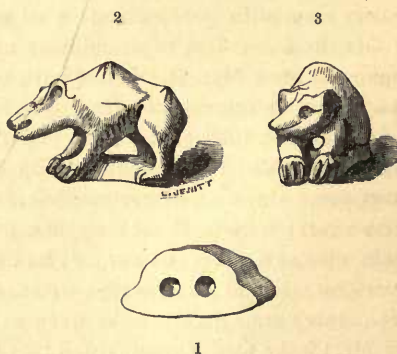
Mr. Bateman, of Yolgrave, exhibited a bronze Roman amulet, which will be figured in a future number of the *Journal*.



JUNE 9.

The Rev. James Charles Ward, of 43 Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, was elected an associate.

Mr. T. N. Brushfield communicated to the Association that "on October 28, 1845, during some excavations at the York and Scarborough railway at Bootham, a small Roman urn was discovered, having for its contents a third brass coin of Constantinus Maximus, with the inscription, SOLI INVICTO COMITI PLN; a small plain jet bead, perforated with two holes (see cut, fig. 1); and another bead, also of jet, rudely fashioned into the form of a bear (see fig. 2), ornamented at the highest part of the back, and also just above the tail, with stellate incisions, and some plain ones at the back of the fore-legs (see fig. 3). A perforation existed between the anterior and posterior extremities; and another, circular, and evidently the one by which it was strung, between the two fore and two hind legs. Beads, in the form of animals,



being very rare, I am induced to lay this notice before the Association. That the articles are Roman, or Romano-British, I think is proved, not only from the coin, but also from the form and elegance of the vessel in which it was contained, which was of well-baked reddish clay, and the evident production of the potter's wheel. The articles are in Mr. Bateman's museum."

Mr. Brushfield also submitted to the meeting an excellent specimen of an ossea tibia, found with a cinerary urn at Lincoln, in 1824, close to the Roman road, called the Fosseway (Ermyne Street), and which is also in Mr. Bateman's museum. Dr. Burney, in his *History of Music*, states, "The tibia was originally a flute, made of the shank or shinbone of an animal, and it seems as if the wind instruments of the ancients had been long made of such materials as nature had hollowed, before the art of boring flutes was discovered. That once known, they were formed of box-tree, laurel, brass, silver, and even gold."

"Ossea tibia, made of the leg bone of a crane", is all the entry in Fosbroke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*. In sir Thomas Browne's quaint work, *Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial*, at chap. 3, is the following:—"To be knav'd out of our graves, to have our skulls made drinking bowls, and our bones turned into pipes, to delight and sport our enemies, are tragical abominations escaped in burning burials."

"The specimen from which the drawing (see cut) was made, answers to



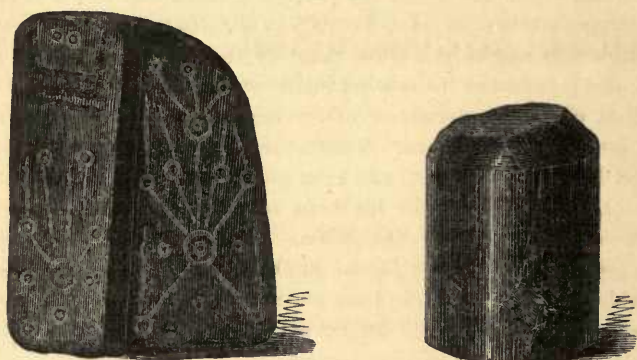
Fosbroke's brief description. Taking advantage of the absence of cancellous texture in the bones of birds, the leg bone of a crane was selected, being long, and well fitted for the destined purpose; the removal of the articular extremities, and the formation of holes being all that was required to be done. The holes being made at the bottom of a groove, cannot be so easily covered by the finger as on an ordinary flute."

Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich, exhibited, through Mr. H. W. Rolfe, an iron spur, and two keys, found in Sandwich. The spur appeared to be of a period not anterior to Charles I, and the keys to have belonged to locks of rather a complicated nature.

Mr. Brushfield exhibited a small silver box or reliquary, on the upper surface of which was engraved a cross of a time certainly not prior to the latter part of the fourteenth century. Mr. Pettigrew observed, that with this reliquary a singular account had been presented. It was stated to have been abstracted from the coffin of Benedict Biscop, the founder of St. Peter's monastery, Monkwearmouth. It is impossible, however, to give credence to the reported tale, inasmuch as the reliquary belongs not to the eighth century, but more probably to the fifteenth. It is difficult

to fix the precise period of articles of this description. In the box were two pictures in gold and colours, painted upon plaister. The colours appear to have been laid upon a gold ground, and then scratched off, to produce artistic effects by the shining of the gold from beneath. The subjects were St. Joseph with the infant Saviour, and the virgin and child.

Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, exhibited, through Mr. Pidgeon, two ancient and curious jet chessmen, found at Warrington. A short distance



east of the church, at Warrington, is a tumulus or artificial hill, known as the Moot Hill. On removing a portion of this hill, in 1841, for the erection of the Clergy Orphan School, Dr. Kendrick discovered, in the soil which had been wheeled away, the larger of the two pieces here figured. The other piece, found ten years later, in enlarging the school buildings, was brought to him by a workman. It is not known that any other pieces have been discovered on the same site.

The general impression is, that the pieces are chessmen, and their antiquity has been acknowledged by all antiquaries, many assigning to them a date varying from the ninth to the twelfth century. It is conjectured that they are of "home" manufacture, as Worsaece says he has not discovered any articles of the same material in the north of Europe. The material is a fine jet or brown coal, and they have the appearance of having been cut with a rude instrument like a knife. The ornament is peculiar, and highly deserving of notice.

Mr. Burkitt read a paper "On the Signs of Tradesmen in London", which will appear in a future number of the *Journal*.

The public meetings of the Association were then adjourned to the 10th of November; and the chairman announced that the Ninth Annual Congress would take place at Newark, on the 16th of August, and be continued to the 21st inclusive, under the presidency of his grace the duke of Newcastle.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

OCTOBER 1852.

INAUGURAL DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE NEWARK CONGRESS,

BY HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, PRESIDENT.

IN compliment to the county to which you have repaired for the present annual meeting of this Association, and certainly not on account of any antiquarian erudition on the part of the individual, you have selected one of its residents as your president for the year. In accepting that honour at your hands, though the chair which I occupy may lose some of its importance by the admission, I must at the outset assure you that I come here as a disciple, rather than as a master—as one that has much to learn, rather than one who has anything to teach. In the address, therefore, which it now becomes my duty, in accordance with your practice on previous occasions, to make to you, I cannot aspire to the merit of striking out any new theory or idea, or of explaining to you any discovery of my own; but rather, I shall endeavour shortly to lay before you a plain and simple basis, upon which others will, I hope, in the course of the week, erect more than one goodly and elaborate superstructure.

I believe that it has on some of these occasions been usual to submit to you an account of the labours of the Association during the previous year. As, however, this is the first meeting which it has been my good fortune to attend, and as there is present my immediate predecessor

in this chair, whose able discourse at the Derby Congress, though I had not the advantage of hearing, I had the pleasure of reading, I must leave this duty to more competent and accustomed hands.

In this, the ninth year of its existence, it can hardly be necessary to state, that the British Archæological Association was founded for the investigation of all ancient memorials of history,—whether documentary, architectural, artistic, or of any other description; for the better preservation of the venerable monuments which the utilitarian ideas of the ignorant were fast consigning to destruction; for the illustration of the arts and sciences; and the elucidation of the manners and customs of our forefathers: and further than this, to concentrate into one focus, and thus render more generally available, the researches of such learned men as are assembled here to-day for their own enjoyment, and for the instruction of many who have not leisure to study archæology as a science, but yet are glad to pursue it as an intellectual amusement. So well aware were the ancient Greeks of the value of men who had made the investigation of such subjects their study, that in Athens there were three men of distinction, paid by the state, and called *Εξηγηται*, whose duty it was to explain to all who sought instruction the interesting spots or celebrated monuments of their country. Now, the members of this Association, though not paid by the state, will be found admirable *Εξηγηται*, and, I am sure, as zealous as those of Athens to impart to all the knowledge, which, by much labour and research, they have themselves acquired.

The habits of the antiquary were once the object of ridicule, and his pursuits formed the theme of good-humoured raillery to our humourists and satirical writers. Such is no longer the case. And the reason is, that antiquaries now comprehend the real aim of their science, and take a juster view of the essentially elevated and important object to which it leads. The elucidation of history, and the confirmation or correction of the written records of bygone ages, now constitute the primary results which are sought to be obtained. As regards our own country especially, so meagre—nay, I may almost say so entirely deficient—are the accounts of history from the

third century to the beginning of the eighth, that but for the researches of the antiquary, that long period would be almost a blank in the annals of our island.

Another most important subject, and intimately connected with the science of government itself, has of late been actively investigated by antiquaries—the bearing of ancient laws and the influence of apparently anomalous customs upon the habits and even the dispositions of a people. It has been said, that if we were to examine the oldest monuments of the history of states, we should discover the primary cause of the prejudices, the habits, the ruling passions, and of all that constitutes what is called the national character. Following up this idea, some able men in the sister country have lately been investigating the Brehon Laws—that ancient and singular code which seems to have more or less governed Ireland for nearly one thousand years—and I rejoice to learn that it is now decided at once to translate and publish the whole of them. This publication may possibly throw light upon much that is singular and has been inexplicable in the destiny of that interesting country.

I have alluded to the preservation of monuments. In France, there is, I believe, or there was until recently, a government office, the business of which consists in watching over the maintenance, and securing the restoration, of such ancient buildings and monuments as would otherwise fall into dilapidation, or be destroyed by private persons. In strict conformity with the more self-acting genius of our country, this important duty is now performed to a great extent by voluntary associations, such as this; and it has been most successfully performed in numerous instances, not by any actual power with which they are invested, but by the interest in these relics which they have created, and by that wholesome action upon public opinion, which seldom fails in England, and which in this particular instance has frequently turned the ignorant despoiler of an ancient treasure into its at first unwilling, but soon earnest and proud, defender as well as possessor.

As an exercise of the mind, archæology is most valuable. Few sciences more tend to render accurate and true the inductive process of reasoning. Monsieur de Tocqueville

remarks, that "we cannot investigate and illustrate the monuments and arts of our own country without studying those of the more classic regions." This at any rate is certain, that nobody can visit the lands of classic literature, still less the seats of those mighty empires which date long before the eras of Grecian and Roman greatness, without returning home imbued with a sense of the value of antiquarian lore, which nothing can efface. Until I visited Egypt, I knew not the full bearing of this science upon the learning and scholarship of our age. The discovery of a key to the hieroglyphics has given a confirmation to the writings of the great historians of past ages,—nay, even to the Books of the Old Testament itself,—which no other event could have produced. If a man doubts the pages of the writers of antiquity, let him go to the tombs and symbol-covered walls of Egypt. But above and before all, if he be a sceptic and doubt the truths of prophecy, let him hasten to the fallen temples of Karnak, and the other doomed monuments of the God-despising grandeur of the kings of the "Land of Noph"—let him take with him a pupil of Belzoni or Champollion—or even let him go alone, and make use of the senses with which he is endowed, and I think I can answer for the result. It really seems providential that all the wonders which have been brought to light within the last forty years in that marvellous land, and in Nineveh and other places, should have been buried for so many centuries—nay, for decades of centuries—by which means alone they could have been preserved to this day, to give us not only a most clear insight into the religious forms and domestic manners and customs of the most celebrated people of antiquity, but to serve for those higher purposes of verification to which I have alluded. Let us trust that these silent, yet speaking, records of the early world, may henceforth be preserved. But, alas! it is no longer the Arab spoiler we must fear. Whilst we gaze upon many of the broken fragments of lately perfect paintings or statues, we are condemned to hear, and hearing, to join in, the curses of an untutored Fellah upon the head of the learned Lepsius!

But I must hasten to call your attention to things nearer home, and of less, though still of great, antiquity...

This county does not abound so much as some in the remains of the earliest period of our history, and probably the cause may be assigned to the character of the midland district of England, and the consequent paucity of its inhabitants in those days. Sherwood, Charnwood, and Needwood, covered the face of the country with one almost continuous forest, and offered few temptations for the collected habitations of men. We must, therefore, expect little or nothing of an authentic character older than the time of the Romans.

To begin with the chief town of the county :—

Few large and flourishing towns in the kingdom can boast of a well authenticated antiquity greater than Nottingham. Without pretending to trace its origin to the year 980 before the Christian era, as does John Rowse, a monk, who wrote in the time of Henry VII, and attributes its foundation to a king, Ebranc,—and without even assigning the title of city to that collection of rude holes in the rocks, which, no doubt, were inhabited in and before the times of the Romans,—there seems to be no doubt that it has existed as a town and strong place of defence for a period of at least one thousand years. Whether its antiquity be still more remote, and it be really, as Dr. Gale asserts, the Causennæ of the Romans, I cannot venture an opinion. In the time of Edward the Confessor, at any rate, it was already, as appears from *Domesday Book*, a place of very considerable importance. It was then called “Snottengaham”, from *snottenga*, the Saxon word for cave, and *ham*, a place of dwellings. The history and antiquity of these caves (which thus gave the early name to this town) are well worthy of a fuller investigation than, so far as I know, they have hitherto received. Besides those on the outskirts of the town, the side of the park facing the river Leen, and other places, many caves, of very considerable extent, have from time to time been discovered, and in most instances again filled up, where excavations have been made for foundations of houses, the formation of streets, and other purposes. Some of these have possessed a certain amount of architectural pretensions, whilst others appear to have been of a much ruder character. The foundation of the principal church, St. Mary’s, is of very old date.

But few remains exist of the ancient castle, which often played a distinguished part in our history. On its site, one of the noblest and most precipitous inland rocks in England, formerly stood a strong tower, where, in the days of the heptarchy, the Danes sustained a siege. Here, almost immediately after the conquest, William I erected the castle, which, greatly enlarged by Edward IV, and suffered to fall into comparative decay by Henry VII, was yet strong enough in 1642 to stand that siege and become the scene of those struggles which have been immortalized by the pen of Mrs. Hutchinson.

The antiquity of Newark is sufficiently proved by its name, inconsistent as such an assertion may at first sight appear. Dr. Stukeley tells us that "our Saxon ancestors, of latter times, always used the termination *wark*, in the same sense as, immediately after the departure of the Romans, they did that of *cester*, signifying thereby a fortification built on Roman foundations. Aldwark thus means the old Roman city repaired". We shall find that the name of Newark has been given to this town ever since the time of Edward the Confessor; from which it is evident that the *old* buildings, upon whose foundations these *new* ones were erected, must have been of a date anterior to that reign. Dr. Stukeley, and after him Mr. Dickinson, believe Newark to be the ancient Sidnacester of the Romans, which was, in the year 677, erected into an episcopal see of the kingdom of Mercia.

I had hoped that the learning and research of Mr. Duesbury would have been bestowed upon the interesting and beautiful ruin which adorns this town—the old castle of Newark—and that he would read a paper on the subject, but I regret to say that we have this evening heard that he will be prevented from attending the present congress. As, however, I still hope that before we separate a paper devoted to this subject will be read, I will not anticipate the information which we may yet look for in detail. I had hoped that we should learn from Mr. Duesbury whether he concurs in the opinion that both Roman and Gothic work can be distinguished in the building,—a fact which would deprive the magnificent Alexander, bishop of Lincoln (who was consecrated in 1123) of the honour of being the founder of this castle, and whilst leaving him

the credit of its enlargement and adornment, would assign its origin to a much earlier date.

For a similar reason I shall leave to Mr. Wickes the history of Newark church, whose beautiful spire so well prepares the traveller at a distance for the sight of one of the choicest specimens of the later Gothic, and one of the finest parish churches in the kingdom; and to Mr. Dimock, the account of the collegiate church of Southwell, of the present appearance of which no lover of ecclesiastical architecture can be ignorant, but of its early history, dating from Saxon times in some of its parts, and from the earliest days of Christianity in England (so far back as the year 630 or thereabouts), and, in its present choir, to the reign of Edward III, many will be anxious for further information.

The town of Southwell, itself, is of great antiquity. It was the principal Roman station west of the Trent, and appears to have the strongest claim to be recognized as the "Ad Pontem" mentioned in one of the *Itineraria* of the Roman empire.

One very interesting antiquarian feature of this part of the country is to be found in the grand straight lines of Roman roads still easily to be traced. One of these is the great line from Leicester to Lincoln, along which the first ten miles of the present road from Newark to Nottingham passes, whilst others, much less visible, seem to have led to Southwell as a centre.

About 60 years ago the foundations of a Roman bridge, across the river Trent, near Winthorpe, over which one of these roads from Lincoln to Southwell must have passed, were discovered.

In the neighbourhood of Southwell—at Hexgrave Park—are the vestiges of a Roman encampment. Many interesting remains have from time to time been brought to light here. About three years since a perfect ancient pig of lead was discovered. It had a very legible inscription upon it, detailing the date, and the ancient name of Chesterfield, where it had been smelted and prepared for exportation.

A large Roman camp also exists at the south-east end of Sherwood Forest, about two miles from Arnold. A small exploratory camp is also to be seen at Oxtun, and

another could be traced at Berry Hill, before the present residence was erected and the gardens laid out. Two more exploratory camps can be traced in the neighbourhood of Mansfield Woodhouse, and from the circumstance of so many of these small camps being found in the neighbourhood, it may fairly be supposed that Mansfield itself was a Roman station. This conjecture is confirmed, not only by the coins and other Roman antiquities which have been found there, but still more by the fact that in 1786 two Roman villas were discovered by major Rooke. Of these villas he communicated a description to the Society of Antiquaries, which is published in the eighth volume of the *Archæologia*. A vase of coins was found in 1848, by the workmen employed in making the railway from Mansfield to Nottingham, close to the King's Mill at Sutton in Ashfield.

Another Roman encampment, of considerable extent, can be traced in the fields at Martin, near Bawtry, and great numbers of coins, both silver and brass, have been turned up by ploughs, and in other ways. There is also a camp at Laxton, which I believe has hitherto been unexplored.

This is a brief outline of some of the chief Roman remains in this county, and I will venture to express a hope that one of the results of this meeting may be to produce an antiquary who will give us a record of all the Roman remains in Nottinghamshire, like that lately given for Derbyshire, by Mr. Bateman, of Youlgrave—the *Vestigia Romana*.

The specimens of mediæval ecclesiastical architecture, in Nottinghamshire, are not very numerous, though those which exist are good and well worthy of inspection. I have already mentioned the churches of Nottingham and Newark, both fine specimens of the later or perpendicular style of Gothic, and the collegiate church of Southwell, a no less fine example of the decorated style. To these must be added the church of Worksop, a very fine specimen of the transition from Norman to early English, though rather late in the period; the little ruined chapel of Steetly, near Worksop, one of the most perfect and beautiful examples of the rich Norman to be found in England; the church of Hawton, near Newark; and some others in the villages in the vale of Belvoir.

The conventual establishments in this county were both numerous and rich, but the remains for the antiquary are now but few. Welbeck, Rufford, Thurgarton, Newstead, and others, have been converted into modern residences, and in most of them we must be content to exchange, for the sombre walls of the religious houses, the rich cultivation, and the magnificent woods, which now form their characteristic beauties. At Newstead, however, the members of the Association will have an opportunity of seeing, and I am sure of appreciating, the judicious restorations effected by its present owner, Colonel Wildman.

As regards places hallowed by historical associations, the towns and castles of Nottingham and Newark (to which I have already referred), and the battle-field of Stoke, must bring to mind many interesting recollections. But even the trees of old Sherwood, few though there be that now remain of that vast forest which once spread over a full moiety of the county, have a history to tell. Between Mansfield and Edwinstowe, and not far from the latter, you pass an oak, well known as the "Parliament Oak". Under the branches of this venerable tree, a council, or parliament, is supposed to have been held, whilst the sovereign kept his court at the Hunting Palace at Clipstone,—a large mass of which is still standing at no great distance from the tree. The records of the parliament which was held there are to be found in the *Planta Parliamenti*, in the time of Edward I.

Amongst the heroes whom this county has produced, I fear it must be confessed that, as in many other countries so in Nottinghamshire, the greatest and most celebrated was a robber. History, tradition, poetry, and romance, have combined to immortalize Robin Hood. From the church (Edwinstowe) in which he is said to have married Maid Marian, to the well at which he drank, the Forest of Sherwood treasures up the records of his wild life. But not Sherwood alone. His name has been "borne as far as Palestine", as king Richard tells him in *Ivanhoe*. "Ille famosissimus sicarius", as one writer of the fourteenth century calls him; that "Prince of all robbers", as he is termed by another; that "Prædo mitissimus", as Camden, in a spirit, whether of justice or generosity, I know not, pronounces him,—will probably live in the

ballad poetry of this country when the last vestiges of the forest which he inhabited have yielded to the axe and the plough, and the names of many a rich and noble denizen of these same lands in more modern days are unhonoured and forgotten.

“The merry pranks he play’d, would ask an age to tell,
And the adventures strange that Robin Hood befell,
When Mansfield many a time for Robin hath been laid,
How he hath cousen’d them, that him would have betray’d;
How often he hath come to Nottingham disguis’d,
And cunningly escaped, being set to be surpris’d.
In this our spacious isle, I think there is not one,
But he hath heard some talk of him and little John;
And to the end of time, the tales shall ne’er be done,
Of Scarlock, George a’Green, and Much the miller’s son,
Of Tuck, the merry friar, which many a sermon made
In praise of Robin Hood, his outlaws, and their trade.”

But Robin Hood was a poacher; and I am reminded that I am poaching on the manors of Mr. Halliwell and Mr. Gutch, who have undertaken to read papers on the era and character of this celebrated outlaw, and upon the ballads which have been written in his honour,—each maintaining a distinct and opposite theory. Their presence, then, must warn me off the thickets of “merry Sherwood”; and with the fear of Sir Fortunatus Dwarris and the “forest laws, with the Chief Justice in Eyre north of Trent” before my eyes, I must leave them to pursue their noble quarry with a more persevering and unerring aim.

I now leave the details of these different subjects to more practised artists. Archæology has been termed the key which unlocks the buried treasures of past ages. I have only endeavoured to point out the hoards to which that key may be applied. I have only attempted to lay before you a *catalogue raisonné* of some of the antiquarian riches of this county, in the hope that others may be found with more leisure and more skill to turn those riches to account, and unveil from the dust of ages the golden treasures, whose sterling worth many amongst us are only now beginning to appreciate.

ON
THE FOREST LAWS, COURTS, AND CUSTOMS,
AND THE CHIEF JUSTICES IN EYRE,
NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE
WATERS OF TRENT.

BY SIR FORTUNATUS DWARRIS, VICE-PRESIDENT, A.B., F.R.S., F.S.A.

A GREAT part of this county, called in Domesday *Snottinghamscyre*, which we are now analyzing and tormenting, was once forest land, and as such, before its enclosure and the commutation of forestal rights, was subject to the laws, and amenable to the privileges, of which it is here proposed to treat.

The law of the chase is of mediæval growth, and not at all derived from classical antiquity. Sir Thomas Browne well says: "I believe all our sports of the field or chase are of gothic original. The ancients neither hunted by the scent, nor seem much to have practised horsemanship as an exercise; and though in their writings there is mention of *aucupium* and *piscatio*,—fowling and fishing,—they seem no more to have considered these as diversions, than agriculture, gardening, or any other productive bodily labour."

There is sufficient reason to believe that England was, at a very early period, covered with forests, abundantly tenanted by animals of chase. The Britons, who lived in a wild and pastoral manner, without enclosing their grounds, derived much of their subsistence from the chase, which they all pursued in common.

But when, under the Saxon government, lands began to be enclosed and improved, the "wiser" beasts naturally fled into the woods and uncultivated tracks, which never having been appropriated were held to belong to the crown. The royal sportsmen reserved these for their own diversion, but seem to have left the few freeholders the liberty of sporting upon their own territory, provided they abstained from the king's forests. This is to be collected

from the laws of Canute, though Coke regards as spurious a pretended charter of the forest, by Canute, in the Danish tongue (4 *Inst.* c. 74).

The forest law, in its full rigour and severity, was introduced into this country at the same time, and from the same policy, as the feudal system. It trained to mimic war; amused and occupied the great; it afforded a plausible pretext for disarming the people, and crippling their faithful dogs. After the Norman conquest the royal forests were guarded with much greater strictness than before,—their bounds were constantly enlarged, and new lands afforested; but whether, with the exception of the New Forest, the number of forests was extended, as is intimated by Blackstone and other writers, and generally believed, seems to admit of a reasonable doubt. There are no laws respecting the forests among the laws attributed to the Conqueror. No other new forest is designated by name, or the mention of it preserved, in any authoritative record. Coke says, that the forests in England, being sixty-nine in number, were so ancient (except the New Forest, in Hampshire, erected by William the Conqueror, and Hampton Court Forest, made by Henry VIII and by authority of parliament), as no record or history doth give their beginning. The Conqueror is said to have possessed, in different parts of England, sixty-eight forests, thirteen chases, and seven hundred and eighty-one parks, thus making, with the New Forest, a number corresponding with—but, it will be observed, not at all exceeding—sixty-nine forests: a considerable number when it is remembered that no subject may enjoy a forest, it being the peculiar prerogative of the crown. It no doubt appears, from the general charter of John, and from a previous charter of Stephen, that lands had been afforested after the first two Norman kings. Stephen reserves only to himself the forests of king William I and William II, and relinquishes those superadded by king Henry. John grants in his *Magna Charta*, that all lands afforested in his time shall be immediately disafforested.

No additional forests were made *after*, or, I am inclined to believe (always excepting the New Forest), *before* that time, till Henry VIII. The severe administration of the forest laws was, however, carried to an extreme, which

made them still more odious, perhaps, than they deserved, and drew upon the kings who imposed the system an imputation which was probably unfounded. The Saxon *Chronicle* says that the Conqueror loved the red deer as if he had been their father, and visited the slaughter of one of these animals with a heavier penalty than the murder of a human being. Mutilation, dismemberment, loss of eyes, and cutting off of hands and feet, were inflicted on such as transgressed in hunting. This savage administration was made the subject of loud complaint and condemnation, and the national reform demanded was, the restoration of encroachments and added lands, and the mitigation of the severe code of punishments. The *gravamen* really seems to have been, not that forests were multiplied as supposed, but that trespasses upon them were punished with much greater rigour; and that there was established, by royal authority alone, a new system of laws and of courts, by means of which not only all offences touching the royal forests were tried, but all persons living within their bounds were brought under the yoke of an usurped jurisdiction, and most tyrannically governed. The vague notices of chroniclers (almost our only record of the effects of such a detestable system) are little to be depended on: they reflect only the passions and resentments of the people, right or wrong. What best illustrates, and is the safest expositor of true history, is the Statute-book, which ever speaks with authority. The charter of Henry III says: "No man shall *from henceforth* lose either life or member for killing our deer".

Who has not always heard, and received as gospel, that king John granted a *Charta de Foresta* at the same time with *Magna Charta*? Matthew Paris gives the pretended charter at full length. But it is, nevertheless, all a delusion. The first separate charter of forests was granted, many years later, by Henry III, in the ninth year of his reign. It is printed in the Statute-book, from an *Inspecimus*, or confirmation of it, in the 25 Edward I. The few concessions obtained from John, were, as stated before, contained in his great charter, and only amounted to a restitution of his own robberies. So much for the origin and history of the forest laws.

The forest laws, under the new code and system thus

established, were administered by their own officers and courts. The officers were, the chief justices in eyre, the warder or warden (and where a forest was appendant, or belonging to a castle, the constable of the castle was ever, by the law, the chief warden of that forest), the verderors, foresters, agisters, regards, keepers, etc. The courts were—I. The court of woodmote, or forty days' court, for attachment of trespassers. II. The swainmote, or court of the swains (a name not new to ladies' ears, who nightly count their swains), a court, held three times in the year, before the verderors, as judges; with the rural swains, or freeholders, for a jury. III. The justice seat, which was the supreme court, held every third year before the chief justice in eyre of the forest. This was a court of record, and a writ of error lay from it to the King's Bench. IV. A court of regard. A survey of the forest was taken every third year by the regards, and at this time and court, the lawing or expeditating of the mastiffs (the only dogs allowed to be kept as house dogs), took place, to prevent their running after the deer. In 1632, a court of justice-seat was held before lord Holland, when large sums of money were extorted from the subject for alleged encroachments on the forest, to replenish king Charles's empty exchequer. This was the last justice-seat actually held for the transaction of business. One was held, *pro forma*, by lord keeper North, after the restoration.

Justices in eyre, it should be remarked, for the sake of precision and distinctness, were of two kinds. Those that went into counties, and those that visited the forests. The former, justices *itinerantes*, opposed to justices *residentes*, (the originals of circuits and circuit judges), were instituted for the good of the subject and the ease of the counties. "They rode" (so is it expressed) "from seven years to seven years"; hence, in the black book of the exchequer, they were called *deambulantes*; and into whatever county they came, during the eyre, all other courts ceased. They early fell into desuetude, and became obsolete, while the justices in eyre of the forest continued much longer. These latter were chief justices itinerant of all the king's majesty's forests, chases, parks, and warrens, to hear and determine concerning vert and venison; whereof there were two chief justices, one for the forests *citra Trentam*, and the

other chief justice itinerant of all the forests *ultra Trentam*, who, says Coke, "commonly was a man of greater dignity, than knowledge in the laws of the forest". This is, perhaps, meant to cast a censure upon a judicial office being made a political appointment. Or, to judge from the illustration appended, the sneer might proceed from some professional jealousy. As the forest laws differ from the common laws, Coke says, cases should be determined before men learned in the laws of the forest. If a trespass be done in vert or venison in the life of the ancestor, lord of the forest, it shall be punished in the life of the heir. But it is not so, in the chase or park of a subject, for a personal action dies with the person; and this a mere common lawyer would be sure to hold, improperly in a forest case.

But what is venison? and what is vert, or green hue? of which the chief justice in eyre had special charge. Whatsoever is venison, must be a beast of the forest; but the converse does not hold. That description, indeed, was first tried, but it did not altogether suit: for the wolf, and the fox, and the martin, are beasts of the forest, but no man would like to eat them. "They be no meat," says the text. Then came another definition. Whatsoever beast of the forest is good for the food of man, is venison. This was found more satisfactory. The bear, indeed, is no venison; he is not admitted to be a beast of the forest, though his hams are often eaten abroad and found very savoury. The wild boar is venison, and is eaten with great glory; so the hare. "The wolf", says king John, in a grant quoted by Pennant, "is a beast of the chase, which it may be permitted the people to kill". And we noticed last year, in Derbyshire, certain lands, in the Peak Forest, held on condition of destroying the wolves which infested that woodland district. Vert is, whatsoever beareth green leaf, for browze, and shelter, and defence of game; and the preserve of vert is the conservation of venison.

Manwood, the great authority on forest law, claims for the king, very largely, among other privileges, the prerogative to have his places of recreation and pastime wheresoever he will appoint. For, as it is at his liberty to reserve the wild beasts and game to himself, for his only delight and pleasure, so he may also, at his will and pleasure, make a forest for them to abide in.

Surely this slavish doctrine requires great qualification. Manwood should have added to the proposition, that the "king may make a forest in his own grounds", or in untenanted wastes belonging to the crown. Henry II claimed that he might make forests, not only within his own woods, and grounds, and waste grounds, but in the grounds of his subjects, and thereupon made divers forests (so it is said), within his own and other men's grounds. Some readers were of opinion that Henry II might *de jure*, or lawfully, do that which he did. But the *charta de foresta*, which, says Coke, is but a declaratory law, restoring the subject to his former right (ratified thirty times, down to 4 Henry V), is directly against the conceit that any king could make or raise a forest in the grounds of the subject, though he might in his own grounds.

King Henry VIII, intending to make a forest about his house at Hampton Court, assigned and limited a certain territory for nourishment and generation of beasts of venary and fowls of warren, extending over the lands of many freeholders and copyholders within the manors, townships, and villages of East Molsey, West Molsey, Walton, Esher, Weybridge, and part of Cobham; and finding that he could not erect either forest or chase over other men's grounds without their consent, did agree by indenture with the freeholders and customary tenants for "Hampton Court Chase";—the colourable name given to make things pass smoothly. It was then by act of parliament provided, 31 Henry VIII, c. 5, that all offenders in the honor of Hampton Court, shall incur such penalties as the like offenders do in any other forest or chase; and thus by act of parliament, in such covert words, was this made a forest as well as a chase, and not by the king himself. And yet, says Coke, king Henry VIII did stand as much upon his prerogative as any king of England ever did.

Of Sherwood Forest, called by Coke in a marginal note *limpida sylva* (I know not why), Robin Hood is the sole hero, and he has been most advantageously preoccupied. But other forests have their myths, their legends, and their bards, which must, in such cases, be available. Thus, in early British history, we read of many strange things done in the deep recesses of our ancient woods; and no

less marvellous discoveries of hidden crimes, which no thickets can cover. Kenulph, king of the Mercians, left the care of Kenelme, his infant son, to his daughter Quendred, who was own sister to Kenelme. The faithless unnatural daughter conspired with Askebert, governor and tutor to the young king, to procure him to be murdered, that she might obtain the crown. Askebert, accordingly, under the pretence of hunting, carries the young king into a forest, where there is a private valley between two hills in a wood, and there traitorously kills him, and buries him secretly. The murder was for some time unknown, until a dove brought a parchment and dropped it at the high altar in St. Peter's church at Rome, wherein the whole account of the murder was set down in golden letters in the English language. This writing could not be understood by the Italians, nor by any of the men of divers nations present; a holy man who had sojourned some time in England, and been kindly received for a great space of time at the court of the late king of the Mercians, and best knew of that people and language, having just left the city. At last, an Englishman is found, who interprets the whole, and the pope soon acquaints the princes of England of the miracle.

Great multitudes of people were present at the taking up in the wood of the body of the infant king, who was, on account of the miracle, added to the number of martyrs, and soon after canonized as a saint.

The wicked queen stood looking out of her window when the body was brought in. She could not believe in its discovery, so concealed was the spot, in the gloomiest depths of the forest. But when she saw it,—however bad the taste, we must follow the Romish legend,—her eyeballs dropped out of her head—the daïs was besmeared with her blood.

Under the grey rocks and ancient oaks of Bradgate, the lovely victim of family ambition, the accomplished lady Jane Grey, delighted to wander, charmed with the softened forest scenery of Charnwood. Charnwood, in which so dense was the wood, so continuous the timber, that it was said a squirrel might be hunted for six miles without ever touching the ground. And who shall say this was exaggerated, when the forest was ten or twelve

miles in length, and six or eight in breadth? But all ladies have not the same sylvan taste. The wife of the last earl of Suffolk, who inhabited Bradgate Hall, soon after her lord brought her to his seat, received a letter from her sister, desiring to know how she liked her habitation, and the sort of country she was in? The countess of Suffolk wrote for answer, that the house was tolerable, but the country was a forest, and the inhabitants all brutes, fit denizens for a forest. The sister in reply, by letter, desired her, rather than be buried in the woods, to set fire to the house, and run away by the light of it. This notable plan the countess put in practice, and the celebrated and interesting mansion of Bradgate Hall, the abode of Jane Grey, was consigned to the flames.

The Court of Justice Seat had jurisdiction to determine, besides all trespasses committed within the forest, all claims of franchises, privileges, and liberties, within the same: as, for example, a claim to have parks within the forest; or to have the herbage and pannage of the same; or to cut down timber within the forest within their own woods, without the view of the forester; or to take housebote and haybote. Again, agistment for cattle and kine to be kept yearly, twenty or thirty of each sort. The officers, of course, had large perquisites, such as of killing eighty bucks and twenty does yearly, and the advantage and pleasure of taking pheasants, partridges, and other birds of warren.

The claims of exemption are instructive. Such are, to be quit, *de misericordia*, of all forest amerciements and fines; *de scoto seu shoto*, of all contributions to bear expenses; *de shot-ale*, a provision of drink for the thirsty foresters, which was then called *putura*, or in the vernacular, *fillen-ale*; and when afterwards a great abuse arose, and refreshment was exacted for their servants, horses, and dogs, as well as themselves, it was called *putura*. In Spelman's *Glossary*, three examples are furnished of Edward I's time, under this head *putura*: when 1*d.* was paid; next, the charge was 2*d.*; and then it was a grave complaint that 3*d.* was extorted by a lord for his huntsman's *putura*.

By the charter of the forest, all commonable rights were expressly saved; and, happily, the poor enjoyed the

advantages therefrom arising. Thus they had their fern harvests, their pickings of gorse, brush and firewood, turf and peat; and some had pasture for a wretched horse or stunted cow, or for their asses, or for a few forest sheep, which ran in the forest wastes, upon what they, amid the fantastic tricks of so many royal and princely sportsmen, called, with a touching reference to the God of all, their "Maker's manor"; from which the poor were not excluded.

Henry I. gave the tythes of all venison within the forest of Dean to the abbey of Gloucester. Three things are observable of this period:—1, the early use of marl in agriculture; 2, the love and prudent care of the abbots and priors for the securing of forest venison, which was in the best possible taste;—for the knowing in all ages, as in Virgil's feast—

"Implentur veteris Bacchi, pinguisque ferinæ";

—take care that the wine is old and the venison fat; 3, the attention paid to the collection and preservation of honey, when there was no sugar.

Are we archæologists mere dreamers of the past? and have our speculations and conclusions no practical application to the present time? Let us see. The old forest laws may be considered as having been virtually abolished, and the offices connected with their administration and execution, are turned, in this country, into complete sinecures. But forests have still their vast use and value; for the picturesque embellishment of the country, for the growth of timber, and the supply of fuel and wood, for services and repairs, besides contributing to a thousand arts now necessary to our comfort. This consideration has awakened many prudent governments to the necessity of protecting forests from wanton spoliation by codes enacted for the purpose, and of forming schools, in which all that is necessary to be known for the management of forests, so as to maintain a constant supply of timber and fuel, shall be regularly taught. Hence, FOREST SCIENCE now constitutes a separate and distinct branch of education, which originated in Germany, at Isenberg, near the Hartz Forest; and throughout that country forest academies soon multiplied. Prussia directed particular attention to the subject: a new organization took place, and competent

instruction in all things appertaining to the management of forests, became a necessary qualification for an appointment to any post in the forest department. In the forest academies are taught botany, vegetable physiology, mineralogy, zoology, chemistry, mensuration, draining, and embanking. The examination which the candidates undergo is very strict, and the result of the system is said to have been eminently beneficial. France has a distinct forest administration, and an extended code. Russia is doing likewise. Might it not be advisable to pay some attention to the same subject in this country, to provide for the better preservation of our remaining forests, and to promote more general instruction in forest science? Forest beauty, through all its sylvan haunts,—the grove, the dell, the thicket, and the glade,—as suited to their tastes and congenial with their habits, Englishmen are certain to appreciate; nor are they likely to forget them, as commemorated in the undying strains of the swan of Twickenham:—

“Thy forest, Windsor! and thy green retreats

* * * * *

Invite my lays.—

* * * * *

Here, waving groves a chequer'd scene display,
And part admit, and part exclude the day;

* * * * *

There, interspers'd in lawns and opening glades,
Thin trees arise, that shun each other's shades.
Here, in full light, the russet plains extend;
There, wrapt in clouds, the blueish hills ascend.
E'en the wild heath displays her purple dyes,
And, 'midst the desert, fruitful fields arise.

* * * * *

Thou too, great father of the British floods!
With joyful pride, survey'st our lofty woods.”

Concluding with the remarkable now-accomplished prediction:—

“The time shall come, when free as seas or wind,
Unbounded Thames shall flow for all mankind;
Whole nations enter, with each swelling tide,
And seas but join the regions they divide.”

POPE's *Windsor Forest*.

ON EARLY BURIAL-PLACES DISCOVERED IN THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM.

BY THOMAS BATEMAN, ESQ.

It does not appear that the ante-Roman monuments of Nottinghamshire, which was one of the counties anciently inhabited by the Coritani, have ever excited much attention amongst either topographical or antiquarian writers: hence the materials for drawing up a paper on the sepulchral remains of the early inhabitants are both few in number and meagre in quality.

With the exception of major Hayman Rooke, a gentleman who resided at Mansfield Wood House at the close of the last century, I am unacquainted with the name of any individual whose researches amongst the primeval antiquities of this county have been of a practical and available character; and it is from his private correspondence and published dissertations that many of the facts made use of in this paper have been derived,—so much are we indebted to the well-directed efforts of the older archæologists, and to the interesting facts perpetuated by them, although their own deductions were not unfrequently erroneous. This, however, was a consequence more attributable to the uncertain nature of the study, then in its infancy, than to any defect of judgment or intelligence in the men themselves, whose mistakes we should treat with lenity, remembering that they were the fathers of the science, and that we now are enabled, by the gradual accumulation of facts and observations (to which they contributed in no small degree), to discover and correct many errors to which they were unavoidably exposed, as neophytes in a new and uncertain pursuit.

All honour, then, to the well-remembered names of Browne and Stukeley, Pegge and Rooke, upon whose occult and mysterious theories we once pored with no ordinary degree of wondering veneration, and which we considered it almost sacrilegious to call in question. Indeed, whether mistaken or not, these were the men who could depict the

past in the most glowing and imaginative tints, although they doubtless considered their lively disquisitions to be all along mere matter-of-fact affairs; but what modern archæologist can venture to compete with the delightfully-pleasing medley of white-robed Druids and Titanic rocking stones, lithic circles and Roman camps, British chariots and military roads, Roman stations, misletoe, astronomy, and mathematics, which is exhibited in the fascinating pages of these venerable writers. The very mention of their names causes us to transport ourselves, mentally at least, back to times when the world was some twenty or thirty centuries younger; and we can almost imagine ourselves as looking on some of the interminable processions, or solemn games, so minutely and graphically described by them; or we long to receive gratuitous instruction in the arts of medicine, natural philosophy, or politics, in some of the famous Druidical colleges, which, we are informed, were so fully known and appreciated by the aspiring intellects of the age, as to attract the votaries of learning from distant lands.

After indulging in this train of thought, how very provoking it is to find so very few tangible evidences of the existence of these worthy sages at present remaining in this county, especially at a time like the present, when so much attention is excited in the land with regard to the habits and derivation of its earliest denizens. Passing by the extensively-farmed "Houses of Caverns" at Nottingham and elsewhere, which are supposed to have been the dens of the living, I will, in the slightly altered words of Robert Thoroton, doctor of physic, and historian of Nottinghamshire, state, "that not being able to treat of the living, I will charitably attempt, notwithstanding the difficulty and contrariety of the study, to practise on the dead, intending thereby to keep all which is, or can be, left of them,—to wit, to preserve their memory as long as may be in the world."

With this end in view, it will be well to commence with the most remote period, of which there are to be seen some relics about four miles from Southwell, on the left hand of the road to Mansfield, in the grounds of a farm, on an eminence called the "Combs", where an elliptically-formed camp or earthwork is plainly to be made out, hav-

ing a ditch and vallum, or rampart, which are most perfect at the western end and south side. About fifty yards to the north is a circular vallum, or ring of earth, near forty yards in diameter, which has been much destroyed by the plough. About one hundred yards west from this camp, the hill rises in a conical shape, and on its summit appears to be a large tumulus, from which there is a very extensive view over the forest, towards Mansfield. In a direct line west from this mound are two more barrows, about half-a-mile apart; that nearest the tumulus first named is about seven hundred and twenty-eight feet in circumference, the other is only one hundred and fifty-nine feet round the base.

The next evidences of ancient occupation are upon a hill within three miles of Mansfield, where there are some rather extensive remains of earthworks, consisting of two parallel lines of ditch, and a vallum, now almost obliterated. On the north side of this elevation the ground slopes down to a morass, through which flows a little brook called Rainworth Water, which divides the parishes of Mansfield and Blidworth. Close to the vallum of this work are two tumuli, thirty-five yards asunder, respectively seven and eight yards in diameter, and near four feet in height; both of which were opened by major Rooke, who, on excavating them to the depth of eighteen inches beneath the level of the land on which they stood, arrived, in each case, at a thin bed of smooth clay about nine feet long, and upwards of two feet wide, upon which lay ashes and calcined human bones, that had apparently been burned on the spot, as there was a large quantity of charcoal around the outside of the clay, which had evidently been used in the combustion of the bodies. The prospect from this place is very extensive, as it includes the hills in the Peak of Derbyshire, amongst which so many tumuli have been examined by the writer of this paper; as well as the scenery in the more immediate neighbourhood, one remarkable feature in which is a tumulus joining a little camp at Oxton, in this county, which was opened by major Rooke on the 30th of September 1790. It is situated about a mile and a half west of Oxton, in a marshy valley, and is about one hundred and twenty-three feet in circumference, and is also surrounded by a ditch and ring of earth. By

digging down to the natural level, the major found a circular body of clay, measuring eight feet across, and four inches in thickness, every part of which was covered with ashes, but no urn or bones, nor any kind of weapon, were to be found; only a small tooth was picked up, which was the sole relic discovered in the barrow. So scanty and unprofitable were the labours of this zealous antiquary in the tombs of the most early Nottinghamshire tribes, which contrast most unfavourably with the discoveries from time to time made in other parts of England.

We shall find, however, that greater success attended major Rooke's excavations in the burial-places of the subsequent races which supplanted the aborigines. The first of these, in order of time, will be the Romans, whose great road from Leicester to Lincoln, called the Foss Way, enters the southern extremity of the county, near Willoughby, and runs in a north-east direction through Newark to Lincoln, traversing the county for the distance of about twenty-six miles, and having along its course through Nottinghamshire, according to Antoninus, three stations,—namely Verometum, now Willoughby; Margidunum, now East Bridgeford; and Crococolana, now Brough, near Collingham. Richard of Cirencester gives one in addition, thus: Venromentum, Margidunum, *Ad pontem*, and Crococolana, by which it will appear that some mistake or misapprehension has arisen. Certain it is that the discrepancy between the two itineraries has given rise to conflicting opinions as to the identification of two of the stations; but this inquiry is not of any consequence on the present occasion, as I only wish to state the localities in which sepulchral remains have been observed.

First, then, near Willoughby-on-the-Wold, is a tumulus called Cross Hill, which is probably a Celtic work, and older than the Roman station, the site of which is in a field called Herring's, or the Blackfield, where many coins, pavements, and other antiquities common to Roman towns, have been brought to light. We may also state, upon the authority of the imaginative Stukeley, that they often find urns there in digging for stone. The next considerable station on the line of road, we take to be Margidunum, at East Bridgeford, where the field in which part of the camp lies, is known by the indicative name of the Burrow-

field, in which foundations, bricks, coins, and urns, presumed to be sepulchral, have been found. Many urns and coins have likewise been found at Flintham, near to the Foss; and latterly, some very interesting discoveries of urns, accompanied by implements, have been made at Newark, which, however, are considered to partake more of the Teutonic or Saxon character than the Roman; and, as such, are noticed in their chronological order. At Littleborough, which is supposed to answer to Agelocum, Dr. Gale saw an urn, which, besides bones and ashes, contained a coin of the emperor Domitian; but by far the most circumstantial account of the discovery of a Roman cemetery, is from the pen of major Rooke, who, it is well known, excavated the site of a Roman house near Mansfield, where he found a beautiful tessellated pavement, a good engraving of which is to be found in Harrod's *History of Mansfield*, together with numerous other objects of interest. About one hundred yards from the villa were two curious tombs, which most likely contained the remnants of some of the patrician family that, in the days of the empire, occupied the mansion. One of them had been long destroyed by cultivation; but the other was more perfect, and consisted of a rectangular enclosure, thirteen feet long by near five feet wide, walled with coursed stones, inside of which was a grave seven feet long, two feet wide, and eighteen inches deep; full, when opened, of light earth, and containing, in addition, a narrow-necked sepulchral vessel of earthenware filled with ashes; and also some portions of an unburnt human skeleton. The floor was laid with dressed flagstones, and the grave had a covering of flat stones, above which was a layer of stucco; and the whole had originally, in major Rooke's opinion, been finished off by a roof of red tiles, numerous fragments of which were scattered about the outside of the building. About midway between the tombs there was a pavement, upon which the fragments of a shattered tablet, to the memory of some deceased Roman, were found,—the words "Vixit annos" being clearly legible, though nothing else could be made out.

The last period that we shall here attempt to illustrate, is comprised within the limits fixed by the abandonment

of Britain by the Roman bands, on the one hand, and the general profession of Christianity by the Saxon colonies, on the other,—a time peculiarly difficult of elucidation, either by the labours of historians or archæologists, as in it seem to meet and blend together types derived alike from the classic elegance of Rome, and the fanciful and exuberant imagination of the north. Whilst studying the distinctive characteristics of the manufactured articles of this and other periods, I have frequently thought that in the sepulchral remains of the races of antiquity, we can distinctly trace the impress of the national mind, and that they afford an admirable index to the psychological peculiarities of families of the human race, concerning which we otherwise know but little, but whose habits of life, and mode of thinking, are here unfolded in a most wonderful and unexpected manner. Of this later period is the barrow at Oxtou, which was opened by major Rooke on the 20th of October 1789, and which was about fifty-one yards in diameter, and near seven feet in elevation. It was found to be composed of fine mould, from the summit downwards to a little below the level of the natural soil, where a stratum of grey sand, mixed with clay, appeared, in which the interment had been embedded, along with the articles that had been deposited with it. The latter consisted of a very complete series of the weapons used by our Teutonic forefathers, including the straight two-edged sword, the long knife, and the spear of iron, and the wooden shield or war-board, with prominent iron boss or umbo. The sword was two feet six inches long, and from being in its wooden sheath measured not less than four inches in breadth. In addition to these weapons, there was another iron object, of doubtful use; also part of a rim of a thin bronze bowl, or drinking dish; and likewise, near the end of the sword, were picked up fifteen imperforate hemispherical studs of glass, some green, others clouded with yellow, and others of a deep yellow colour, which, probably, may have been intended as pieces to be used in some sedentary game, like draughts.

As this paper will most likely be read before an audience that may be partially unacquainted with three more recent discoveries of the like antiquity, which, through the medium of this Association, have already been made public,—one



Fig. 1.

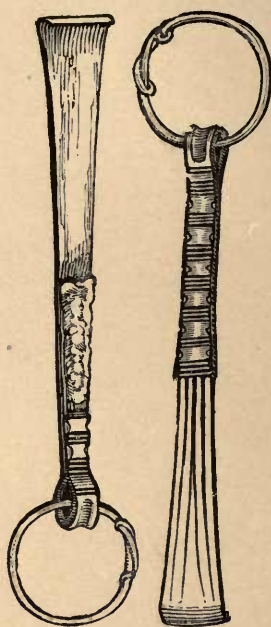


Fig. 2.



Fig. 4.

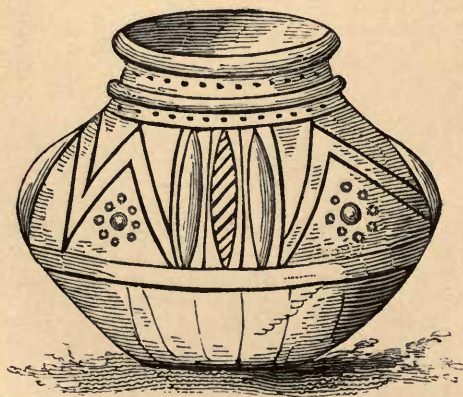


Fig. 5



Fig. 3.

	No. of bosses.	Height.	Diameter.
Fig. 1.	.. 4 ..	10 $\frac{3}{4}$..	13 $\frac{3}{4}$
2.	.. 4 ..	7 ..	7



Fig. 1.

	No. of bosses.	Height.	Diameter.
Fig. 3.	.. 6 ..	— ..	10
4.	.. 6 ..	— ..	9



Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 2.



Fig. 10.

Fig. 12.

	No. of bosses.	Height.	Diameter.
Fig. 5.	.. 6 ..	— ..	10
6.	.. 3 ..	— ..	9
7.	.. 9 ..	7 ..	8
8.	.. — ..	6 $\frac{1}{5}$..	9



Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 5.

	Height.	Diameter.
Fig. 9.	—	9
10.	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
11.	9	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
12.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{3}{4}$



Fig. 8.

Fig. 11.

Fig. 9.

by Mr. George Milner, another by the rev. J. S. Henslow, and the remaining one by myself,—I shall venture to relate them, at the risk of repetition, as my paper would otherwise be incomplete.¹ The first is an interesting and apparently extensive cemetery, by the side of the present Nottingham road at Newark, formerly the Foss, which was partially cut through by workmen employed in excavating foundations for a house, in the year 1836, when urns to the number of fifteen or sixteen were taken out in a tolerable state of preservation; but three or four times as many were broken and destroyed. Since that date, the sinking of a sawpit, twenty-four feet long, four feet wide, and six feet deep, led to the discovery of many more, which appeared to have been placed in regular order, within two feet from the surface, in an upright position. Each contained calcined human bones; and one alone, which was covered by a lid, contained, in addition to the crumbling ashes, a well-made pair of bronze tweezers, a pair of iron shears, and a bone comb, evidently the accompaniments of a female interment. (See plate 27.) The vessels were all of that peculiar globular, or bulging form, assigned by the most competent authorities to the inventive powers of the pagan Saxon potters, and of which a large number were disinterred at Kingston-upon-Soar, in Derbyshire, in the year 1844; the particulars of which discovery were communicated to the British Archæological Association by the rev. J. S. Henslow, whose excellent article² I have abridged as follows:—

These urns (see plate 28) are all wrought by hand, out of a dark-coloured clay, and are very slightly baked, though some have been so far so as to acquire a reddish tinge. The majority are dark brown, and many are ornamented with a few lines or scratches, arranged in different patterns; and some are more highly embellished by the addition of stamped patterns, such as might readily be formed by notching the ends of a stick, or twisting a small piece of metal into a spiral or zigzag pattern. They were found deposited on the slope, and near the summit of a gentle

¹ As the volumes of the *Journal* which contain the illustrations of these discoveries are nearly out of print, the Council have thought it right to reprint the cuts in a collected form, to accompany this article, and thus enable their Nottinghamshire associates to possess them.

² See *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 60.

eminence near the church at Kingston, and over the space of about half an acre. The workmen who had been employed in trenching, had turned up and completely destroyed about two hundred of them before the fact was made known to any one who thought of preserving them. Afterwards, about thirty of the deposits were more carefully removed, when it seemed probable that a lump of sandstone had been laid over the mouth of each urn. All the urns, with the exception of one small one, contained well burnt bones; and, with some of the deposits, were masses of fused glass, which had evidently been beads, one of which, half fused, was of porcelain. In one urn were three fragments of a bronze fibula, to which some fused glass was attached.

The only remaining discoveries to which I shall now draw attention, were made near Cotgrave in this county, about the year 1839, and are far more decided and interesting examples of Saxon burial customs, the interments being entire and unburnt. The more ancient of the two was directly upon the line of the Foss road, where three skeletons were found within the length of one hundred yards, and a fourth near a quarter of a mile from them. They were interred, in the line of road, at full length, in graves cut through the gravel and rubble of which it is composed, down to the rock, which is met with about two feet from the surface. With each skeleton were two iron spears, and with one was a third brass coin of Carausius, which had been a good deal worn. The spears vary in length from eight to sixteen inches; and the interments probably took place in the fourth century. The other and more important cemetery was accidentally discovered by the same labourers, whilst digging for gravel near Holme Pierrepont, about four miles from the former place of discovery. The skeletons lay about two feet beneath the surface, and were accompanied by a profusion of interesting articles, a small part only of which were preserved, and are now in the possession of archdeacon Brown, and in the museum of the Nottingham Mechanics' Institution. By the courtesy of the former gentleman, in permitting fac-simile drawings to be made from the objects by Mr. Parker of Cotgrave, on my account, I was some years ago enabled to supply engravings of the more remarkable arti-



Fig. 2.

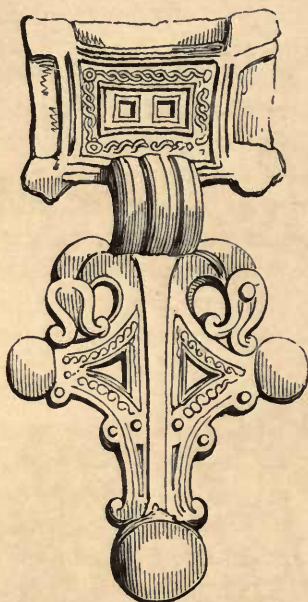


Fig. 6.

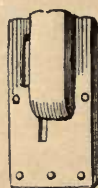


Fig. 3.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 1.

cles to the *Journal* of the Association (vol. iii, pp. 297-300), whence I enumerate the following particulars:—

Of urns, three varieties were preserved: one evidently a copy of the usual Roman globular model, which was quite unornamented; the other two of smaller size, but in one instance decorated with zigzag (see plate 29, fig. 1) scratches and annular impressions, alternately. Another example of fictile art here discovered, was part of a drinking vessel of yellow glass, impressed with the representation of a bird, and part of a Latin motto, of which the word “semper” now alone remains (fig. 2). In the Nottingham Museum are preserved a pair of querns, or hand-mill, about a foot in diameter, with part of the iron spindle, on which the upper stone revolved; a circular piece of metal, about the size of a penny piece, which may have been a weight; and an iron chest, or casket-lock, with a brass or bronze front-plate (fig. 3). In archdeacon Brown’s collection are some small pieces of bronze, which have evidently been riveted to the sides of cylindrical bronze vessels or pails, for the attachment of transverse swinging handles, as in buckets; also several specimens of bronze fibulæ, or brooches, which, with the exception of one in the form of a nondescript quadruped (fig. 4), are varieties of the cruciform type (fig. 5); which, it is reasonable to suppose, was introduced by the earliest Christian converts amongst the Northumbrian Saxons, as few or none of these crucial patterns are observable on the fibulæ found in the south of England, though they may be said to prevail over all other types in the midland and northern counties. The finest example found at Cotgrave, is upwards of five inches long, handsomely chased and gilt, and has been originally enriched with seven settings of stone or coloured glass (fig. 6). The pins of all were of iron, and around them were the remains of woollen cloth. The discovery of very numerous beads of glass and porcelain, and a few of rough amber, renders it probable that a large proportion of the graves had been tenanted by individuals of the female sex, which is corroborated by the fact that few weapons have been obtained from this cemetery. The beads which have been preserved, exhibit considerable variations both in shape and colour, as well as style of ornament, being both flat, cylindrical, and square. The spiral, serpent-like

device is most prevalent on the larger beads ; whilst undulating streaks and chequers appear upon the smaller. They are manifestly the productions of a people well skilled both in chemistry and in the practical manipulation of the glass manufactory. Who were the artists that fabricated these peculiar beads, is, I believe, as yet undecided.

By the kind permission of the earl Manvers, I had the further opportunity of excavating the locality immediately surrounding the gravel pit where all the remains were found, during the past year ; but soon proved that the whole had been destroyed, and that nothing remained to be discovered but potsherds broken from vessels of the Roman-British era, and fragments of animal bones.

So slight and inconsiderable are the mortuary vestiges of the unnumbered thousands of three brave and warlike races, which have successively possessed the lands of Nottinghamshire ; upon which they have flourished for a time, and then fallen in that war from which there is no discharge,—a war in which we ourselves shall soon personally engage ; and who can tell when it shall be ?

ON SEPULCHRAL URNS FOUND AT NEWARK IN 1836.

BY GEORGE MILNER, ESQ., F.S.A.

A LITTLE way out of the town, on the left-hand side of the “old fosse way” of the Romans, and the present Nottingham road, some workmen employed by Mr. R. Norton, in digging foundations for his house, met with (a little below the surface) several earthen vessels, which they imagined contained hidden treasure ; several were broken into fragments, but nothing in the shape of coin presented itself,—dust and bones were the only contents, to the sad mortification of these ruthless beings. Urns to the ex-

tent of fifteen or sixteen were taken out in a tolerable state of preservation, but many more were broken and destroyed in digging.

In the following year, Mr. Norton sank a saw-pit in the yard; and he informed me, they found, in digging out the earth and gravel (say, in a space of twenty-four feet by four), about eighteen or twenty urns. He also informed me that in building houses in his neighbourhood some years ago, a little nearer the town, several urns were discovered.

From the best information I have been able to obtain, the whole had been placed in an upright position in the ground. All contained calcined human bones. One had a cover or lid, with rude figures of birds on the top (see plate 27, fig. 1); and, in addition to the dust and bones, contained three objects of interest, which I shall proceed to describe, viz., a pair of tweezers (fig. 2) of bronze, most probably of Roman workmanship—the drawing is given the actual size, and shews one of the arms broken off; a pair of scissors, or shears, of iron (fig. 3), most likely of British manufacture,—since Strabo mentions shears amongst other articles of iron exported by the ancient Britons;¹ and part of a comb, made of bone (fig. 4),—the drawing given the full size. These several articles naturally lead to the conjecture that this urn contained the ashes of a female.

Several of the urns were made of clay, imperfectly baked or dried in the sun, and were rudely ornamented with lines or figures, drawn by a pointed instrument (see figs. 1 and 5) whilst the clay was in its natural state, or stamped with a rough mark: some were of a harder texture, and more closely resembled the coarser Roman potteries.

From the absence of flint, or stone weapons, we must consider them of a later period than the Celtic era; whilst from their proximity to a Roman station, and a little beyond its boundary, and taking into consideration the frequency with which we meet with Roman stations occupying the sites of British towns, I am inclined to the opinion, that the urns discovered at Newark-upon-Trent belong to what is termed the Romano-British period.

¹ See Speed's *Britain*, p. 169. Ed. 1605.

ON
THE FAMILY OF PEVEREL OF NOTTINGHAM,
AS CONNECTED WITH THE CASTLE
AND THE EARLDOM.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

TWELVE months ago, when I selected, as the subject of my paper for the Derby Congress, "The Armorial Bearings of the Families of Ferrers and Peverel", I little anticipated that our next annual gathering would be in a county not only immediately adjoining that of Derby, but so intimately connected with it in the history of our country, and especially that of the old Norman nobles, of whom "it was my hint to speak".

One of the principal advantages arising from the visits of such associations as ours, is the calling of attention to statements, which, having been received as facts in less scrupulous times, would probably be handed down to future generations without inquiry, did not the obvious propriety of selecting some subject of local interest for discussion, compel us to investigate the minutest spots in the field to which our observations are necessarily limited. Each man beats the bushes in which the particular game he prefers to hunt is likely to have taken cover, and rarely fails to find sport enough for the season. On the former occasion, I was struck by the utter want of credible authority for the origin of the well-known horse-shoes appropriated to the earls of Ferrers; and my consequent inquiries revealed to me such a mass of error and contradiction, such "confusion worse confounded", in the history of that great family, that "function became smothered in surmise", and it certainly appeared to me that "nothing was but what was not". The doubts I imparted to our friends at Derby, have been strengthened rather than removed, by the researches requisite for the illustration of the antiquities of Nottingham.

I therefore naturally return to my last year's subject; but do not intend hammering on the horse-shoes. I have

nailed them (for good luck, I hope) on the thresholds of the heralds who first blazoned them, and will leave at their doors for the present, the precious charge I have not yet found an earl of Ferrers to bear, as they would make him. I shall confine my remarks to such points of the subject as bear upon the early history of Nottingham Castle and its feudal lords, and consider with you, how far we are warranted in accepting as facts some of the assertions most popularly connected with them.

Although addressing an audience in Nottingham, and principally composed, perhaps, of natives, or of residents, I may imagine, without offence, that a considerable majority of you are not so fully acquainted with the works of Thoroton and Deering (the latest, just a century old), as to take no interest in a digest of the materials they collected; while those who may be familiar with the two learned doctors, will not, I think, object to the examination of those materials by the light afforded to us at the present day. Without further preface then, the authenticated history of Nottingham Castle commences with its erection, shortly after the Conquest, on the site of the old Danish Fort, which had previously crested "the dolorous rock" (as it is called by an ancient writer), overhanging the river Leen, and frowned defiance, according to the Saxon chronicles, on the combined forces of Buckthred, Ethelred, and Alfred the Great.

In the year 1068 (the second of the Conqueror's reign), the castle appears to have been built, and confided to the charge of William Peverel, an illegitimate son of the Norman monarch by the daughter of Ingelric, the founder of the church of St. Martin's-le-Grand, London. The lady's name is doubtful. Morant calls her Maud (*Hist. Essex*, vol. ii, p. 413); Leland calls her Ingelrica (*Collect.* vol. i, p. 55). Her father's history, beyond the pious fact recorded, is at present "*in nubibus*"; and the little we find of her own, is vague and contradictory.

The next fact, however, that we arrive at is, that at the time of the compilation of *Domesday Book* (1080-1086), William Peverel held one hundred and sixty-two manors in England; and possessed in Nottingham alone, forty-eight merchants' or traders' houses, thirteen knights' houses, and eight bondsmen's cottages; besides ten acres of land

granted to him by the king to make an orchard; and the churches of St. Mary, St. Peter, and St. Nicholas; all three of which we find he gave, with their land, tythe, and appurtenances, by his charter, to the priory of Lenton. Goisfred de Alseline, or Hanselin, lord of Shelford, the next great proprietor in Nottingham, had twenty-one houses; Ralph de Burun, thirteen knights' houses; and Robert de Busli, eleven: and when I add, that at the time of that survey, there were only one hundred and twenty men dwelling in this town, it will be allowed that William Peverel, having custody of the castle to boot, must have had, next to his lord the king, the lion's share in the property. He was not, however, earl of Nottingham, as by many writers inaccurately styled. He simply writes himself "William Peverel of Nottingham", a distinction implying his particular connexion with the town, and his consequence in it; but he is never called *comes*, or even *Dominus de Nottingham*, in any document of authority I have met with.

William Peverel is said to have been a natural son of the Conqueror's, after whom, most probably, he was named William; but his cognomen of Peverel is by no means so clearly derivable. Deering says (sect. ix), without quoting his authority, that Ingelric's daughter, the mistress of the Conqueror, was given in marriage, by her royal paramour, to one Ranulf Peverel, who attended him into England; and that she obtained of her husband that this son, whom she had previously *presented* to the king, should bear the name of Peverel also. The more general account is, that the wife of Ranulf was the mistress of the king, whose issue by her took the name she then bore. This part of the question is of importance only as it would affect the age of William Peverel; but admitting either to be fact, whence did Ranulf Peverel derive his name? Not from the place of his birth, or lands which he possessed, or we should somewhere find the Norman "de" prefixed to it. Sir William Pole, in his collection for Devonshire, speaking of the branch which settled in that county, says the name was "Peverell, or Piperell"; and in *Domesday* we find it continually spelt "Piperellus", "Terra Ranulfi Piperelli". This does not, however, illustrate its derivation. I have a fancy,—I confess it is but a fancy,—that,

like Meschinus and similar appellations, it had a personal signification; and that it is a corruption of Puerulus, which is almost identical with Peuerellus, as we find it written in the Anglo-Norman Pipe and Plea Rolls. The *u* being pronounced *v*, is now stigmatized as cockney. It may, in those days, particularly by Frenchmen, have been considered correct.

To return as rapidly as possible to facts.

William Peverel, the first governor of Nottingham Castle, married a lady, whom, in his charter to the priory of Lenton, he calls Adelina; and we find by the same document that he had issue by her a son, named also William, and other children, whom he does not name.¹ According to the register of St. James's, Northampton (another of his foundations), he died the fifth kalends of February 1113 (the 13th of Henry I), Adelina, his widow, surviving him, according to the same authority, only six years; but this is not reconcilable with the fact, that, in the 5th of king Stephen, "Adelina, mother of William Peverel of Nottingham", was pardoned by the king eighteen shillings, as appears by the sheriffs' account of the Dane Geld for that year (1140). The register of St. James's also certifies that sir William, son of the elder William Peverel, died in his father's life-time, the date given being 16 kalends of May, 1100, the last year of the reign of William Rufus,— "which", says Thoroton, "cannot be true, unless he had another son named William; for I find," he continues, "that William Peverel, at the entreaty of his faithful wife, Adelina, gave to the monastery of Lenton (at or nigh the foundation) the churches of Hecham and Randon... William Peverel, his son, by ill advice, took them away for a long time; but repenting, he, for the love of the worship of God, and for the safety of the souls of his said father and mother, by the consent of his heir, William the younger, restored them again." (*Register of Lenton*, p. 114.)

It is by no means improbable that the first William Peverel *might* have had two sons named William. Instances of this practice are not uncommon in early pedigrees, and

¹ Two of these children we find to be daughters; Matilda (mentioned in the *Pipe Roll*, 31st of Henry I), and Adeliza (who, in an *Exchequer Roll*, is stated to be the wife of Richard de Rivieres). No more of his progeny have yet been discovered; but here are at least sufficient to correspond with the words of his charter.

increase the difficulties of the genealogist. Our next piece of evidence is the *Pipe Roll* of the 5th of Stephen, in which year a William Peverel of Nottingham, the son or grandson of the first William, gave account of £23 : 6 : 8 of the Pleas of the Forest; and in the early part of the same king's reign, we find, in the sovereign's charter to the Cluniac monks of Lenton, mention of William Peverel, *junior*, his wife Oddonâ, and his son Henry.

In 1140, the same year above mentioned, Nottingham was invested by Robert, earl of Gloucester, at the instigation, we are told, of Ralph Paynel, who was already master of the castle, on the part of the empress Matilda; and, taking the town by assault, spoiled it, and massacred the people in the churches, to which they fled for sanctuary. One of the wealthiest was taken back to his house by his captors, to shew them where his treasures were concealed. He led them down into a low cellar, and, while they were occupied in forcing locks and ransacking coffers, contrived to slip away and close the door upon them; and then setting fire to the house, the plunderers, to the number of thirty, were consumed with the building; but the flames unfortunately spreading to the adjoining houses, the town is said to have been almost entirely destroyed. The spot where this incident is said to have occurred, has been described as fronting the south side of St. Mary's church, and where afterwards was built Mapperly Place, so called from a considerable merchant of the staple, Thomas de Mapperly, who flourished in Nottingham about the latter end of the reign of Richard II.

In the following year, 1141, was fought the battle of Lincoln, in which king Stephen was taken prisoner, and with him his firm friend and champion, William Peverel. The latter, however, appears to have speedily regained his liberty, and also, by stratagem, the castle of Nottingham; his soldiers entering, according to the opinion of Deering, by the subterranean passage popularly called Mortimer's Hole, from the circumstance of its having enabled Edward III to surprise Roger Mortimer, earl of March, the favourite of the queen mother, Isabella, A.D. 1330.

In 1152 a pacification took place between Stephen and his competitor Henry Fitzempress, and in 1154, the death of Stephen, on the 25th of October, gave the throne of

England to Henry, who succeeded him as Henry II. He was crowned on the 19th of December in that year, and one of his earliest acts in the next, we are told, was to disinherit William Peverel, the staunch supporter of his old rival, Stephen, upon the opportune charge of his having conspired with Maud, countess of Chester, to poison her husband, earl Ranulf, surnamed Germons. Now this is a very curious story, and I beg to call your particular attention to the mystery in which it is involved. The cause of Peverel's disinheritance is distinctly stated by the *Chronicon Roffense*;¹ the register of Dunstable;² Mathew Paris;³ Mathew of Westminster; and Gervase of Dover; as being the foul crime already mentioned, and the punishment itself is recorded by the three former to have occurred in 1155. But how are we to reconcile this date with the fact, that Henry, before he ascended the throne, most probably in 1152, and certainly not later than 1153,⁴ gave to Ranulf, earl of Chester, the very man Peverel is accused of poisoning, with other large estates of hostile nobles, the castle and town of Nottingham, and the whole fee of William Peverel, wherever it was (with the exception of Hecham), unless he (William Peverel) could acquit and clear himself of his wickedness and treason.⁵ This important document is printed at length by sir Peter Leycester, in his *Prolegomena*,⁶ and prefaced with these words—"How Randle, earl of Chester, was rewarded for taking part with Henry Fitzempress, being yet but duke of Normandy and earl of Anjou, may appear by this deed following, which I conjecture was made about the year

¹ "A^o 1155. Rex Henricus 2 exhereditavit Willielmum Peverel causâ veneni Ranulfo comiti Cestriæ propinati."—*Chron. Roffensi*.

² "A^o 1155. Willielmus Peverel de Nottingham causâ veneficii quod fuerat propinatum Ranulpho comiti Cestriæ exhereditatus est."—*Ex Registro Prioratus de Dunstable*.

³ Anno 1155. Willielmum Peverell, causâ veneficii quod Ranulfo comiti Cestriæ fuerat propinatum, rex Anglorum Henricus exhereditavit. In cujus pestis consortio plures consocii exstitisse dicuntur.—*Matthew Paris*.

⁴ For Ranulf died 16th of December 1153, 18th of king Stephen. (*Monast. Angl.*, vol. ii, p. 280; so also Gervase of Dover.) "Anno Domini 1153.—Ranulfus ille nobilis et famosus comes Cestriæ, vir admodum militaris per quendam Willielmum Peverellum (ut fama fuit) veneno infectus, post multos agones militaris gloriæ, vir insuperabilis audaciæ vix solâ morte territus et devictus, vitam finivit temporalem."—*Chronicon Gervasii*.

⁵ "Et totum feodum Willielmi Peverelli ubicunque sit, nisi poterit se dirationare in meâ curiâ de scelere et proditione, exceptâ Hecham."

⁶ Vide Ormerod's *Cheshire*, vol. i, and also Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i, p. 39, where there is a translation of its substance.

1152, when Stephen and Henry made an agreement. The original hereof is in Cotton's library; it is also upon record in one of the great Coucher books, in the Duchy office, at Gray's Inn, London." Should we not be justified in believing, upon the evidence of this agreement, (for such is the nature of the instrument, which is witnessed by parties both for Henry and Ranulf,) that Peverel was dispossessed of his estates, not for assisting to poison the earl of Chester, for to that very earl the estates are given, but for "wickedness and treason" generally; in plain words, I suspect for supporting Stephen manfully and faithfully against Henry and his mother. Sir Peter Leycester, we perceive, looks upon this act as a reward to Ranulf for his services to Henry, not as a compensation to him for injury inflicted by Peverel.

Camden, who makes the supposed murderer of Ranulf, the grandson of the first William Peverel, says: "William Peverel, lord of Nottingham, had a son of the same name, who died during his father's life-time, and he had, likewise, a son William, deprived of his estates by Henry II, for combining, with the wife of Ranulph, earl of Chester . . . to poison the said earl, her husband." "This happened," adds Deering, "the first of Henry II;" and he goes on to state, from Camden and Thoroton, the original of both being Gervase of Dover,¹ that this William Peverel, fearing the rigour of the king, betook himself first to the monastery of Lenton, founded by the elder Peverel, and not thinking himself safe there, as Henry was on his journey to York, he quitted the habit he had newly taken upon him and fled. The king seized the major part of his possessions, and, amongst others of his castles, that of Nottingham, which he first" (mark you this) "granted to Ranulph, earl of Chester" (who had then been dead fourteen months), "but soon afterwards had that and the rest of Peverell's lands in his own possession again, and kept them in his hands a considerable number of years." Here

¹ "1155. Rex igitur Eboracum et occidentalis partes Angliæ visitavit. Quod audiens Willielmus Peverellus cum de morte comitis Ranulfi sibi esset male conscius, novi regis illuc adventantis magnanimitatem metuens, in cœnobio quodam ditionis suæ relictis omnibus attonsus est et cucullatus. Rege vero mense Februario ab Eboraco digrediente et in provincia de Nottingeham ubi latebat cucullatus perveniente, idem Willielmus latentor evasis et aufugit cunctasq' munitiones suas ubertate refertas regiæ reliquit voluntati."—*Chron. Ger. Dov.*

we have the same story, and it does not appear to have occurred to either of these really excellent antiquaries, Thoroton or Deering, who were both acquainted with the grant, that one part of the story was irreconcilable with the other.¹ The successor to Ranulf Gernons, was his son Hugh, surnamed Kevilioc. It would, therefore, have been Hugh, earl of Chester, to whom Henry II, king of England, gave the estates of Peverel, if such donation had not been made till after his accession to the throne, and in the month of February 1155, but as the agreement was made between Henry, while duke of Normandy, on one part, and that very Ranulf, earl of Chester, who died in 1153, on the other,—it follows of course, that if the crime of which Peverel stands accused by the chroniclers, was the real cause of the disinheritor, it must have been committed two or three years previously. Henry himself does not charge him specifically with it. He uses the general terms, “*scelere et prodicione*”, wickedness and treason; and Gervase of Dover qualifies the accusation with the words, “*ut fama fuit*”. It was at the worst, therefore, a matter of rumour and suspicion, not of conviction. The earl is said to have died after lingering in agonies, which were imagined to be the effects of incantations.² How easily and frequently such charges were made in those dark days, how eagerly believed, and how speedily used against a rival or an enemy, is notorious to all students of their history.

What was the punishment of the countess Maud, Peverel's supposed accomplice, and if so, the most culpable of the twain? She survived the earl, her husband, many years, and her name is associated with that of her son, Hugh Kevilioc, in several deeds of benevolence and piety; amongst them, actually the purchase of absolution for her husband, who died excommunicated! Matthew Paris says, many persons were suspected to have been concerned in the crime (*vide* note 3, p. 199 *ante*). Let us then act in

¹ I may add Dugdale, who prints the grant, and also says, the earl “departed this life 17 kal. of January 1153 (18th of Stephen), being poisoned by William Peverel and others, as it was suspected; for which crime Peverel was *disherited by king Henry II soon after*.”—*Baron.* vol. i, p. 40.

² *King's Vale Royal*; but query, is this a translation of the “*post multos agones*” of Gervase of Dover? If so, it is an error, for the passage is “*post multos agones militaris gloriæ*” (*vide* note 4, p. 199); and the context proves that the words do not apply to bodily torture, but to struggles or contests, as a soldier in pursuit of military glory. (*Vide* Ducange, sub *agonia* and *agonizare*.)

accordance with the just and noble laws of England. Shall we not, especially in this county, give a Nottingham man the benefit of the doubt, and hold him innocent till he is proved to have been guilty?

I cannot dismiss this part of my inquiry without mentioning, that one of the obnoxious chieftains, whose estates are given to the earl of Chester by Henry, at the same time with those of Peverel, is Ralph Fitz Odo, the reputed ancestor of Robert Fitz Odo, or Fitzooth, one of the presumed historical originals of the popular legendary hero, Robin Hood, and, in my humble opinion, the best entitled to the honour.

We now arrive at another mystery in the biography of the lords and earls of Nottingham. Robert de Ferrers, earl of Ferrers, was created, according to Ordericus Vitalis, earl of Derby, by king Stephen, in 1138, for his valiant conduct at the battle of Northallerton, or the standard, in which William Peverel (the second or third) also greatly distinguished himself, and commanded a large division. The date of the death of Robert earl of Ferrers is uncertain. Brooke places it as late as 1154; but he was succeeded by his son Robert de Ferrers the second, who styles himself, in one of his charters, "comes junior de Ferrariis", and in another, dated 1141, "Robertus junior, comes de Nottingham". It has, therefore, been a matter of doubt whether he or his father were the first earl of Nottingham. I incline to the belief that the second Robert was the first earl, and if Brooke's date of his father's death be correct, he was probably so created at the time Stephen made that father earl of Derby, which would account for his distinguishing himself as "comes *junior*". The confusion has no doubt arisen from both being named Robert, and both fighting gallantly in the cause of Stephen. We have at least this fact in evidence, that Robert the second is the first and only de Ferrers who uses the title of earl of Nottingham. But this is not the most perplexing part of the business: a question more important to our present subject (the family of Peverel), is that which I was the first to raise, at our last year's congress. William Peverel, junior, of Nottingham, the reputed poisoner of the earl of Chester, is said to have had a daughter, named Margaret, married to an earl of Ferrers, who, in her right, became

heir to a considerable portion of the Peverel property, or was made so, on the disinheritance of her father, and in consequence abandoned the old family arms and took those of Peverel, viz., *vairy, or, and gules*. The armorial question I discussed fully in my paper last year, and subsequent researches have not induced me to change my opinion; I will therefore only add that a French genealogical work of some credit, which I have since met with, asserts that "the English branch of Ferrers changed its arms for those of Marmion, which are *vair*".¹ Respecting the marriage, and indeed the existence, of Margaret Peverel, however, I have something more to say.

The charter of king Stephen to the monks of Lenton, which I have already quoted, shows us that William Peverel, by his wife Oddona, had a son named Henry at that time, most probably his heir apparent; but there is no mention of any daughter, and the rolls of the reign of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II, in which mention is made of many Peverels, including the mother and the sisters, Matilda and Adeliza, of William Peverel, of Nottingham, are equally silent on the score of a daughter, and acknowledge no Margaret Peverel of any branch. Vincent gives Margaret to the first earl William, who tells us himself that his wife's name was Sibilla. Others, to the second Robert, who explicitly declares that his wife was Sibilla de Braose, and the rev. C. Hartshorne, in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. v, p. 129), calls her the wife of the first Robert, who married, according to Vincent, Hawise de Vitry. For the proof that William was the happy man, we are referred to the oblate roll of the 1st of John, in which it is said that William, the third earl of that name, calls Margaret his grandmother. Now here is the entry referred to, in which you will find no such thing. "The earl of Ferrers gives two thousand marcs for Hecham, Blidsworth, and Newbottle, that the king may forego all claim to the other lands, which were William Peverel's, and the king gives to him the park of Hecham, which the lord Henry, his great grandfather (that is king Henry I),

Cette branche s'est continuée en Angleterre, y étant fort considérée; elle avoit changé ses armes et pris celles de Marmion qui sont de *vair*.—*Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, par De la Chenaye Desbois, 4to. 1773, p. 351.

gave in exchange to the ancestors of William Peverel".¹ Where is Margaret? Where any mention of the grandmother of the earl of Ferrers? The next reference is to a *Plea Roll* of the 25th of Henry III, which certainly proves that some earl of Ferrers assumed a right of heirship to William Peverel; but by no means even hints that it was in right of his wife, or makes any mention of Margaret. The words are remarkable. The earl of Ferrers is therein stated to have *made himself heir* of the aforesaid William Peverel, and to have *intruded himself* into the same inheritance "during the war between the king and his barons".² Now, in the agreement between Henry duke of Normandy, and Ranulf earl of Chester, you will remember the whole fee of William Peverel is granted to the earl of Chester, with the exception of Hecham, which we find William earl of Ferrers purchasing of king John in the first year of his reign: but this William earl of Ferrers was the one who unquestionably married Agnes, daughter of Hugh Kivelioch earl of Chester, and sister and coheirress of Ranulph Blundeville, the last earl of that line, and consequently he might fairly found his pretensions to the rest of the lands of William Peverel upon the gift of the whole fee to Ranulf Gernons, his wife's grandfather.

The forcible entrance of an earl of Ferrers into the Derbyshire estates of Peverel, during the war between the king and his barons, recorded in the other document, is, I have little doubt, that which this same earl William made by order of king John in the year 1216. The castle of the Peak was at that time held by Brian de Insula for the rebellious barons, and king John sent Robert his chaplain with a letter to the governor, desiring him to give up the castle to William earl of Ferrers, and then

¹ Northaptes q'rent. cēm v'l aura.—Com. de Ferrar. [dat] m marc' p' Hecham cū hundredo t parco cū ptinenc, t Blisewurth t Newbotle cū pertin, p sic quod remittit dnō Regi totū clamorē suū de aliis tris q' fuānt Will'mi Peverelli, t respondebit, t warrantizabit dmn' regē cū cont^a omēs. Et idē dn's rex dedit ei parcū de Hechā p quod dn's H. pavus suus esambiū dedit antecessori Willmi Peverel. Plegii ipsūs com' de sup^a dc'a pecūia Will. de Brehūs de m marc. Comes Warewic de c. marc. Reg Mortuæ Mari de c. marc. Will. de Ridewār de c. marc t sūti tnini in xv dies a festo Sci. Johis. Bapt ccl marc t in Gula Augti ccl Marc t ad scacē Sci Mich. ccc m' t sic deinceps don^a debitū fuit p'solutū ad scaccar'.—*Oblate Roll*, 1 John.

² "Quando com' de Ferrar' qui se fec' heredē pdict' Willi. Peverel intrusit se in heredit' ejusdē Willi durante guerra q' fuit int' Rege et baron' suos."—*Abreviatio Placitorum*, 25 Hen. III, Derbyshire.

also of Derby, who was enjoined to besiege it if Brian refused, as he accordingly did.¹

We now come to a third point of dispute, which has sprung out of the two already investigated. Being unable to prove the marriage of Margaret Peverel with any earl of Ferrers to be found in the register of Tutbury, some genealogists have invented one, or rather two, by making William, the son and heir of Robert earl of Nottingham, succeed his father in 1165; then coolly killing him in 1172; resuscitating the father, as a third Robert, for seventeen years; and afterwards performing the same kind office for his son William, merely to kill him again at the siege of Acre, in 1190. I should not have troubled you with this phantom, had not Dr. Deering, as well as others, introduced him bodily into the list of the earls of Nottingham, and with some remarkable particulars. "William de Ferrers," says the doctor, "earl of Ferrers and Derby, certified the 2nd of Henry II, the knights' fees he then held to be seventy-nine in number. He confirmed his ancestors' grants to the monks of Tutbury, and was a benefactor to the Knights Hospitallers. He was married to Margaret, daughter and heiress of William Peverel, whose grandfather was natural son to William the Conqueror. The marriage rites of him and his countess were performed by Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, at Canterbury." Here we have not only the marriage asserted, but the place it was solemnized at, and the name of the officiating minister. What a pity we cannot find the marriage certificate! This precise information is placed by Deering in inverted commas, and appears to be quoted from Milles (*Catalogue of Honour*), who cites no authority; though, I presume, he has followed Matthew Paris, who seems also to confound the first two Williams. But the doctor goes on to state that "he (this William de Ferrers) died the 19th of Henry II, 1172, and was succeeded by his son, Robert de Ferrers, earl of Ferrers and Derby, as heir to his father, and earl of Nottingham, as derived by his mother, who died the same year and month as his father." So that here we have actually the date of the death of this invisible girl, as well as that of her Will-of-a-wisp of a husband.

¹ *Pat. Roll.*, quoted by the rev. C. H. Hartshorne, *Archæological Journal*, vol. v, p. 215.

But, alas! the register of burial is gone to look for the marriage certificate; and where the learned doctor acquired his information one hundred years ago, I am unable to guess. Milles, who blunders still more desperately, by following Matthew Paris, who is then speaking of the second William, prolongs the lives of this wonderful pair to the 32nd of Henry III, 1247; by which time, supposing the rest of the story to be true, they must both have been upwards of 100!

Dr. Deering has thus, in common with Dugdale and other genealogists, made four earls of Ferrers out of two, and three earls of Nottingham instead of one, creating thereby a confusion which it is impossible, in such an essay as this, to do more than allude to.

Henry II does not seem to have recognized the creation of Robert de Ferrers, earl of Nottingham, by Stephen; and in the war which ensued between the king and his son, Henry the younger, Robert de Ferrers took part with the rebellious prince, and, assaulting Nottingham castle, at that time held for the king by Reginald de Lucy, drove the royal garrison and governor out of it; plundered the town, which was burned for the second time, and distributed the spoil amongst his soldiers. He died in 1162, the 8th of Henry II; and the king either then, or previously, gave the castle of Nottingham to his son John, earl of Mortain, who continued governor of it during the remainder of his father's life, and was also left in possession of it by his brother Richard I, when he went to the Holy Land. In this expedition Richard was accompanied by William de Ferrers, son of Robert, earl of Nottingham, and Walkeline de Ferrers, his kinsman.¹ The former had

¹ It is a question whether the Walkeline, named by Matthew Paris, and Geoffrey de Vinesauf, was Walkeline of Eggington, or Walkeline of Oakham. In the descent of the Eggington branch, a great error has crept into nearly all the pedigrees I have seen, by the giving to Robert Fitz-Walkeline de Eggington the heiress of William de Bocland, when the fine rolls of the 17th and 18th of John, and the 11th and 12th of Henry III, prove, incontestably, that she was the wife of Robert de Ferrers, a younger son of the second William, and brother of the third William earl of Ferrers. It is also a mistake to call her sole daughter and heiress, for William de Bocland left three daughters coheiresses, viz., Maud, wife of William de Kaamorden, Hawise, wife of John de Bovill, and Joan, wife of the aforesaid Robert de Ferrers. Vide Salmon, Clutterbuck, and Chauncey, *Hist. of Hertford*. The *Plea Roll* of the 13th of Henry III also proves that Robert Fitz-Walkeline had some way inherited from the Peverels of Devonshire; John Talbot (of Gainsborough) claiming lands in Erminton in that county,

succeeded to the earldom of Ferrers, but not to that of Derby or Nottingham, which earldoms were bestowed by Richard I. on his brother John (if we may credit Hoveden and Matthew Paris), together with those of Cornwall, Somerset, Dorset, and Lancaster. Thus, according to the opinion of some authorities, John was the first earl of Nottingham,—the creation of Robert de Ferrers by Stephen being unacknowledged. Others do not even admit John's title to be more than nominal. At all events it must have merged in the crown on his accession in 1199, and laid dormant from that day till the reign of Richard II, who, at his coronation, bestowed it on John, lord Mowbray; being the first person, says Banks, to whom the title of earl of Nottingham was really granted.

From this period, the history of the earldom is clear enough, and altogether disconnected with that of the castle, which, indeed, after the death of Richard I, when it was in John's hands, appears to have remained the property of the crown until James I. granted it to Francis, earl of Rutland; by whose grandson, George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, it was sold to William Cavendish, marquis, and afterwards, duke of Newcastle, "who, notwithstanding his great age," says Deering, "in the year 1674, employed many hands in clearing the foundations of the old castle, and lived so long as to see the present fabric raised about a yard above the ground". It was finished by his son Henry, duke of Newcastle, at the cost, altogether, of £14,002:17:11.

Of the few remains still existing of the old castle, the passages and chambers in the rock are those, I believe, most deserving of our attention. In one of its dungeons, David, king of Scotland, is said to have striven to wile away the tedious hours of his captivity by carving on the walls the story of our Saviour's passion, visible as late as Leland's time. By the kindness of the authorities, we are about to visit some portions which have not been examined

as nearest of kin to Margaret and Ermentrude, daughters and heirs of the said Robert Fitz-Walkeline. Ermenton belonged to a Hugh Peverel in the reign of Henry I. The name of Margaret so occurring in this document, suggests the probability of her mother having been a Margaret, and perhaps a Peverel. It is certainly remarkable, if any *earl* of Ferrers did marry an heiress of such importance, that no genealogist should have given us satisfactory evidence of the match.

for a considerable period. It is to the architectural antiquaries who accompany us we must chiefly look for information on this part of the subject. We are here to investigate—to inquire—to learn. We are not so presumptuous as to attempt to teach without first acquiring some personal knowledge of the objects it is our ambition eventually to illustrate. It is most important for the success of our labours that our position should be justly considered. That we should not be expected, on a first visit—in the brief space of a week—to pronounce, *ex cathedra*, our opinions on points which have been subjects of controversy or speculation for centuries. In warning you of the errors of our predecessors, we must be careful not to mislead you ourselves. It is in the future pages of our *Journal* we hope to supply the information which may partly requite the obligations conferred upon the Association by your flattering and friendly reception of us to-day.

ON THE VERITABLE EXISTENCE OF ROBIN HOOD; AND ON THE BALLADS RELATIVE TO HIM.

BY J. M. GUTCH, ESQ.

THERE are two remarkable coincidences connected with the place at which our Association is this year assembled, which make the subject of the paper I have been requested to read peculiarly appropriate. The *first* is our vicinity to the ancient woods, the sylvan glades, and rural scenery of what has hitherto been considered the habitation and retreat of the celebrated English yeoman, ROBIN HOOD. *Secondly*, so lasting has been the reputation of the hero, the subject of so many ballads and songs, and so great the anxiety to ascertain his real personage and haunts, not-

withstanding all the imaginary and fabulous histories of him, and the lapse of upwards of five centuries, that I am enabled at this meeting, in my humble judgment, to assert that his veritable existence, both in name and county, has at length been accurately developed.

After a brief recital of the previous fictitious parentage, location, and character of Robin Hood, advanced by so many inquirers of eminence into the histories and traditions of the medieval ages, I shall endeavour to lay before the meeting the recent singular discovery made by that eminent antiquary and critic the rev. Joseph Hunter, in his researches into our ancient records.

I proceed first to notice a few opinions of those antiquaries who, about a century ago, took an interest in the life and character of Robin Hood, and, in my opinion, misapplied their time and talents in fanciful conjectures and ingenious theories into his genealogy and history. Of these, Dr. Stukeley stands foremost in the list. In his *Palaographia Britannica*, he gives a regular pedigree of Robin Hood, and ventures an extraordinary opinion upon the causes which led him into his predatory life.

"Robin Hood," he states, "took to his wild way of life, in imitation of his grandfather, Geoffrey de Mandeville, who being a favourite of Maude, empress, king Stephen took him prisoner at St. Alban's, and made him give up the Tower of London, Walden, Plessis, etc., upon which he lived on plunder."¹

Could the inventive flight of an antiquary exceed such an improbability as this? And yet the credulous doctor, in another work (vol. ii of his *Itinerarium Curiosum*), inserts an engraving of a ground-plan of Kirklees abbey, where Robin Hood is supposed to have died, and *delineates the very trees among which he was buried!*

Several other ingenious conjectures have been recorded respecting Robin Hood's death and burial. A manuscript in the Sloane collection states, that the prioress of Kirklees abbey, after

"Letting him bleed to death, buried him under a great stone by the

¹ This pedigree forms a note in an interleaved copy of Robin Hood's ballads, which has Dr. Stukeley's autograph in it, was afterwards in the possession of Mr. Douce, and is now deposited in the Bodleian Library. "I bought this book," says Mr. Douce, "at Mr. Bartlett's sale, the 4th of May 1787. It belonged to Dr. Stukeley."

hye wayes syde"; [which agrees with a passage in Grafton's *Chronicle*, in which it is recorded, that after his death] "the prioresse of the same place caused him to be buried by the highway side, where he had used to rob and spoyle those that passed that way; and upon his grave the said prioresse did lay a very fayre stone, wherein the names of Robert Hood, William of Goldesborough, and others, were graven; and the reason why she buried him there was, that the common passengers and travilers, knowyng and seeyng him there buried, might more safely and without feare take their jorneyes that way, which they durst not do in the life of the sayd outlaws. And at the eyther end of the sayde tombe was erected a cross stone, which is to be seen there at this present."

Another of our antiquaries, Thoresby, in his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, p. 91, says:—

"Near unto Kirklees, the noted Robin Hood lies under a *grave-stone*, that yet remains near the park; but the inscription is scarce legible."

But in the Appendix to the work, p. 576, is this note, with a reference to p. 91:—

"Among the papers of the learned Dr. Gale, late dean of York, was found this epitaph of 'Robin Hood':—

" ' Here undernead dis laitl stean
laiz robert earl of Huntingtun
near arcir ver az hie so geud
an pipl kauld im robin heud
sich utlawz az hi an iz men
vil england nior se agen
obiit 24 (v. 14) kal. dekembris 1247.' "

Mr. Ritson took a prominent part in this fray; and by no means exhibited his usual research and acumen. He insisted that Robin Hood was a descendant of Robert earl of Huntington; that his real name was Robert Fitzooth; and that he was born at Locksley in Northamptonshire, *though no such town in that county is known to have existed*. Mr. Ritson also positively declared, not only the time in which he lived, but the exact period of his death; that he died in 1204, aged 87, being therefore born in 1160. Others of these fanciful antiquaries maintained that he died in 1294, aged 69; while a French historian carries him more than a century farther back.

Even the best historical authority, Fordun's *Chronicle*, is allowed by Mr. Wright and Mr. Halliwell on this head to be interpolated. Mr. Gough, also, in the *Gentleman's*

Magazine, 1793, engaged in the controversy, which at this time was so rife among the antiquaries; and in the following account, which he gave in a volume of his *Sepulchral Monuments*, put the finishing stroke to their conjectures. "The stone," he says, "over the grave of Robin Hood, is a plain stone, with a cross, the inscription illegible. That printed in *Thoresby* WAS NEVER ON IT."

It is delightful to escape from these fanciful regions of conjecture into some more clear and better sustained historical narratives of more modern date; which, although they are likewise founded upon unsubstantiated theories, are grounded upon references to several periods in our early history, which bear a much more reasonable resemblance to truth.

The first I shall allude to is contained in the work of a foreigner, who has thrown considerable light upon the early events in British history. M. Thierry carries the exploits of Robin Hood as far back as the reign of Richard I (1189 to 1199), and contends that he was of Saxon birth.¹

"His French prenomén (he says, p. 236) proves nothing against this opinion; for the clergy of England, since the Conquest, had been accustomed to admit in baptism no names but those of saints in favour with the Normans. *Hood* is a Saxon name; and the most ancient ballads rank the ancestors of him who bore it, in the class of the English peasantry. Afterwards, when the remembrance of the Conquest was weakened, the village poets thought fit to deck out their favourite hero in the pomp of riches and greatness. They made him a count, or the son of a count,—or at least, the bastard grandson of a count,—whose daughter, having been seduced, fled from home, and was delivered in a wood. The latter supposition gave rise to a popular romance full of interest and of graceful ideas, but unauthorised by any probability. Whether it be true or false that Robin Hood was born, as the romance tells us, 'in the green wood, among flowering lilies', he passed his life in the woods, at the head of several hundred archers, who became the dread of the counts, viscounts, bishops, and rich abbots of England; but dear to the farmer, the labourer, the widow, and the poor. They granted peace and protection to whosoever was weak and oppressed; shared, with them who had nothing, the spoils of those who fattened on the crop which others had sown; and, according to the old tradition, did good to every honest and laborious person:

¹ History of the conquest of England by the Normans, vol. iii, pp. 233-250.

“ ‘From wealthy abbots’ chest, and churches’ abundant store,
What oftentimes he took, he shared among the poor.’—

Robert Brunne’s *Chron.*, ii, p. 667; edit. Hearne.”

After the publication of M. Thierry’s *History of the Norman Conquest*, it would have been strange if some writer amongst us on the subject of ballad literature had not availed himself of such a copious store of information, and produced therefrom what he conceived a more authentic narrative of the life and actions of Robin Hood and his companions. This has been done by a writer in the *London and Westminster Review*, vol. xxxiii, No. 65, under the signature of G. F., who assigns to our hero a higher station in society than his predecessors, Ritson and others, had given to him.

After animadverting on M. Thierry’s statements, and bringing the period of Robin Hood’s life and exploits down to the time of Henry III, the writer quotes the *Chronicon* of Fordun, as an authority on which he much relies; and mentioning the passage which declares the outlaw as avoiding the wrath of the king and prince (“iram regis et fremitum principis declinans”), he connects the life and exploits of Robin Hood with Simon de Montfort and the battle of Evesham, and the events which followed.

I must now allude to an essay by Mr. Wright, “On the popular Cycle of the Robin Hood Ballads”, contained in the second volume of his work, *On the Literature, Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages*.

“In the semi-heroic period of the history of most people,” he remarks, “the national poetry appears in the form of cycles, each having for its subject some grand national story, some tradition of times a little more ancient, which had been a subject of national exultation, or national sorrow.”

He mentions such cycles among the Greeks, in later times among the Normans and Anglo-Saxons, and then he observes,—

“That the most extraordinary ballad cycle, indeed the only one which has preserved its popularity down to our times, and of which we have large remains, is that of Robin Hood.”

Mr. Wright then remarks,—

“That the only attempt to investigate the history of the popular cycle

of Robin Hood is contained in a tract, written in French, as a thesis,¹ by a Mr. Barry, an Englishman, preparatory to taking the degree of doctor in the university of Paris."

This writer's theory was, that the hero of the cycle, Robin Hood, was one of the Saxons who became outlaws in opposing the invasion of the Normans; that the ballads were originally written in alliterative verse in the thirteenth century; and that, in their modern and altered shape, they still picture to us the feelings of the Saxon peasantry towards their Norman governors; and this hypothesis, in its general outline, appears to have been approved by Mr. Wright.

Mr. Wright, however, in another place, assigns to Robin Hood the character only of one of our ancient myths. He says:—

"One of the strongest proofs of his mythic character is the connexion of his name with mounds and stones, such as our peasantry always attributed to the fairies of their popular superstition";

and he then proceeds to an enumeration of the various localities which bear the name of his fanciful exploits, and expresses his belief that Robin Hood was only a fictitious personage.

The question which naturally arises from the review of these wild and legendary stories is, *who was Robin Hood, and was there ever a person of that name? Was his history framed on the ballads, or the ballads on him?* I mean to adopt the latter hypothesis, and through Mr. Hunter's discovery, not only to shew that such a person once existed, who in his character and life corresponds with our fabulous histories of him, but that the long metrical ballad of the *Lytell Geste* was the composition of a poet, living probably at a period little less than a century after the death of the hero.

In the edition of *Robin Hood Ballads* which I published a few years ago, I made this observation:—

"It is to the legendary ballad of the *Lytell Geste* that we must refer for the most probable conjecture that can be formed of the period when Robin Hood lived, and the transactions in which he was engaged. There are few ancient ballads in existence, either in manuscript or in print, in which such a minute detail of occurrences is narrated, and of such his-

¹ Thèse de Littérature sur les Vicissitudes et les Transformations du Cycle populaire de Robin Hood. Paris, 1832.

torical accuracy. There are dates specified or referred to, the best test of the accuracy of documentary evidence ; and there are the names of individuals mixed up with these dates, whose existence at the same period is confirmed by national historians, whose fidelity is unquestioned. But it is singular, that of a ballad consisting of nearly two thousand lines, not a vestige of any manuscript should have been discovered, from which the early editions of it were printed, so far as my inquiries have gone. It is in vain, therefore, to affix a date to it, or to attempt to authenticate its author."

It is a remark of honest old Selden, that "you may learn the complexion of the times, and find how the wind sits, by few things better than by ballads. Made for the people, and existing only by their suffrages, they reflect their feelings—the very age and body of the time, its form and pressure." Owing nothing, I may add, to the protection of the powerful, the patronage of the great, the countenance of critics, they depend for all in all on their sheer merit, and on their fitness for the occasions on which they appear, and the sentiments which they express.

The songs of the people, set to familiar tunes, I may also observe, are soon learned, easily retained, and the last forgotten. They rock the babe to sleep, and soothe the daily toil of hard-working manhood. However unmusical and inartificial they may seem to fine-eared fastidiousness, they collect and influence the many, as dissonant tinklings of brass affect the wandering unsettled swarm ; they are more really effective than the fabled songs of syrens, or the strains of Orpheus. Those who hear the incantation, lay down their work to listen—the hurrying artizan is arrested—the busy hum of the street is silenced—and the humble penny extracted from those by whom a penny can ill be spared. "I love a ballad in print o' life, for then we are sure they are true," says Mopsa, in the *Winter's Tale* ; and it is one of those many truths which Shakespeare has dropped, apparently in jest. Genuine exponents of the spirit of the times, they pass from hand to hand, from mouth to mouth, with ever-widening influence, until, from *following*, they *lead* opinions. The mightiest changes and chances have been brought to pass by this vehicle, whereby the elements of popular excitement are condensed and communicated. The sturdy spirit of resistance against the laws and idiom of a Norman oppressor was breathed forth by the ancient bards of our

bold forefathers. These symbols and watchwords, of more value than ponderous histories, sustained the efforts of the entire nation, and have been crowned with the full recovery of more than Saxon liberty and the complete establishment of our Anglo-Saxon language. They opened the deep wells of English undefiled, whence streams of the purest poetry, as well as of the soundest practical philosophy, have gushed forth in a clear and continuous stream.

It was an energetic and heartfelt investigation into the cycle of the Robin Hood ballads, which led Mr. Hunter into the publication of his curious and valuable tract, which he designates "*The Great Hero of the Ancient Minstrelsy of England, Robin Hood, his Period, Real Character, etc., Investigated, and perhaps Ascertained,*" and which has at length put an end to the mythical conjectures and absurd theories of so many antiquaries. In his researches, he has found a niche for Robin Hood in formal documents enrolled among the ancient records of her majesty's Exchequer.

I now proceed to notice the earliest ballads relative to Robin Hood, which have been discovered in some of our national repositories.

The earliest ballad on the subject of Robin Hood is supposed to be one discovered by the rev. C. H. Hartshorne, and inserted in his *Metrical Tales*, 1829. This MS. is in the public library of the university of Cambridge, cap. 5, 48; it is also reprinted in an edition of *Robin Hood* (p. 832), after a careful collation by Sir Frederic Madden. It is there called "Robin Hood and the Monk". It is probably the oldest extant of the cycle of Robin Hood's ballads. Mr. Wright considers it to belong to the fourteenth century, and that it is one of those which were sung by the contemporaries of Fordun, and the author of *Piers Ploughman's Visions*. This ballad is not only the oldest, but among the most beautiful, in the whole series of Robin Hood ballads.

The second ballad in point of antiquity in the series is that of "Robin Hode and the Potter". This is also preserved among the manuscripts in the public library at Cambridge, and numbered Ee, 4, 35. It was first published by Mr. Ritson, immediately after the legend of the *Lytell Geste*. He ascribes it to the age of Henry the seventh; but Mr. Wright mentions that it was written in Henry the sixth's time, half

a century before, "as appears," he says, "by a memorandum on one page, setting forth the expenses of the feast on the marriage of the king with Margaret." The orthography is rude, and the dialect would seem to be that of some of our midland counties. It would appear also, by the blunders with which it abounds, to have been taken down from recitation. It may be considered one of the best of the whole series; abounding in comic incident and broad humour, while the conduct of the plot is naturally and pleasantly conducted.

The third ballad is called "Robin and Gandelyn; or Robyun Lyth in Grene Wode Bowndyn". This ballad was first published by Mr. Wright in 1836. He says:—

"In a collection of songs and carols among the Sloane manuscripts in the British Museum, which an incidental coincidence has proved to be written in the Warwickshire dialect, perhaps nearly contemporary with the last-mentioned ballad of 'Robin Hood and the Potter', is a song that appears to belong to this cycle,—at least by its subject, if not by the person whose death it celebrates."

Mr. Wright conjectures that the MS. may be of rather an earlier date than the reign of Henry the fifth; but its greatest antiquity must be included within the fifteenth century.

The next poem I shall notice is a very curious fragment. It was first printed by the rev. S. R. Maitland, in his List of some of the early printed books in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, 1845. The leaves had been used as an end paper for Wynkyn de Worde's impression of Hylton's *Scala Perfectionis*, 1494; but the type is supposed to be Pynson's. What was the subject of the poem from which the leaves were extracted will now, probably, never be ascertained. There are two leaves in black-letter, each containing thirty-one lines. The style is singular, and in some places and turns of expressions almost reminds us of Skelton.

I come now to the notice of the most important of the ballads, or I should rather call it the semi-biographical legend of Robin Hood, *The Legend of the Lytell Geste*:—

"This ballad, one of the finest in our language" (says Mr. Charles Knight), "which for beauty and dramatic power is worthy of Chaucer himself,—about whose time it was probably written,—has shared Robin

Hood's own fate; that is, enjoyed a great deal of misunderstanding, and therefore, worthless popularity. It has simply been looked on as one of the Robin Hood ballads; whilst, in fact, it surpasses all the others by its merits, as by its antiquity, and its internal evidence of being written by one who understood that on which he wrote; which is much more than can be said for the ballad-doers of the later ballads, when Friar Tuck and Maid Marian first crept into the forester's company; when the gallant yeoman was created without ceremony earl of Huntington, and his own period put back about a century, in order that he and the Lion-Heart might hob and nob it together."

In order to connect the biography of Robin Hood with my narrative part of the *Lytell Geste*, particularly that contained in the last three fyttes, and to elucidate Mr. Hunter's theory, I must quote a few of the stanzas. In allusion to that fytte which relates to the death of the sheriff of Nottingham, Mr. Hunter states that, though this might be a poetic invention, yet it is here that we have the first note of the time to which the events of the ballad are to be referred. The king under whom Robin lived is distinctly called Edward; "Edward, our comely king"—an expression which occurs in a ballad which has been called "Robin Hood and the King". This, in its admission of historical illustration, is by far the most important of all, and establishes, as seems to Mr. Hunter, *beyond all question*, which of the Edwards was meant; and therefore the precise time at which this outlaw lived. It forms the basis of the seventh fytte, and of the earlier part of the eighth, in the *Lytell Geste*.

"ROBIN HOOD AND THE KING.

"The kynge came to Notyngham,
With knyghtes in grate areye,
For to take that gentill knyght,
And Robyn Hode, yf he may.

"He asked men of that countre
After Robyn Hode,
And after that gentill knyght
That was so bolde and stout.

"Whan they had tolde hym the case,
Oure kynge understonde ther tale,
And seased in his hondè
The knyghtès londès all.

"All the passe of Lancashire
 He went both *ferre* and nere,
 Tyll he came to Plomton parke,
 He faylyd many of his dere.

"There our kynge was wont to se
 Herdès many one,
 He coud *unneth* find one dere
 That bare ony good horne.

"The kynge was wonder wroth with all,
 And swore by the Trynytè,
 I wolde I had Robyn Hode,
 With eyen I myght hym se."

"We see," says Mr. Hunter, "that the king who is here spoken of made a progress in the county of Lancaster. The question then arises, which of the three Edwards did travel in that county? This question admits of a decisive answer. King Edward the First never was in Lancashire after he became king. I state this without reserve, and confidently, on the authority of a manuscript itinerary of that reign, compiled by Mr. Stevenson, supported by some researches of my own. King Edward the third was not in Lancashire in the early years of his reign, and probably never at all; so that we are driven to accept of king Edward the second, to whom perhaps it will be allowed that the epithet "comely", so often, and no other, applied to him, is more appropriate than it would be to his father or his son.

"We know, moreover, that king Edward the second did make a progress in Lancashire, and only one. The time was in the autumn of his seventeenth year, A.D. 1323. The reader may find what is sufficient proof in the *teste* of various of the king's writs, printed in the *Fœdera*. Altogether, he was that year in the north from the month of April till the 17th of December, when he set out on his way to Kenilworth, where he meant to spend his Christmas in one of the castles of his late great enemy, the earl of Lancaster, whom he had not long before taken in battle and put to death." (p. 28.)

Mr. Hunter then specifies the various progresses which the king made in the year 1323; all taken by him from various contemporary evidence, all concurring in the same results. He then proceeds:—

"The ballad further shows us, that the king at this time was especially intent on the state of his forests, which had been greatly wasted by the depredations of such men as Robin Hood. In correspondence with this, we find him in the great forest of Pickering; and we know

from other sources, that he was intent on reforming abuses there, in the forest of Knaresborough, at Haywra Park, and various other places.

"The king remained at Nottingham from the 9th to the 23rd of November, when he would make himself better acquainted with the state of Sherwood Forest, though he must previously have been well acquainted with it, having in former years spent so much time at Nottingham, Newstead Abbey, and his Sherwood palace of Clipston.

"There is a correspondence in all this, between the ballad and the authentic record, which I venture to think is not quite accidental." (pp. 29, 30.)

Mr. Hunter then proceeds to analyze the ballad, and remarks:—

"Now it will scarcely be believed, but it is, nevertheless, the plain and simple truth, that in documents preserved in the Exchequer, containing accounts of expenses in the king's household, we find the name of 'Robyn Hode', not once, but several times occurring, receiving, with about eight-and-twenty others, the pay of 3*d.* a day, as one of the 'vadlets, porteurs de la chambre' of the king. Whether this was some other person who chanced to bear the same name, or that the ballad-maker has in this related what was mere matter of fact, it will become no one to affirm in a tone of authority. I, for my part, believe it is the same person."

Mr. Hunter then goes on—

"To exhibit the facts clearly, in words of the original record, entreating the reader to bear only in mind, that the date of the Lancashire progress fixes the period of Robin's reception into the king's service at a little before Christmas 1323, in the seventeenth year of the reign; and that the first time we find the name of 'Robyn Hode' in the list of persons who receive the wages of the porters of the chamber, is from the 16th of April to the 7th of July 1324. And the first entry in which his name occurs, is under the date of April 25th."¹ (pp. 35-36.)

"My theory then", says Mr. Hunter, "on the whole is this. That neither is Robin Hood a mere poetic conception, a beautiful abstraction of the life of a jovial freebooter living in the woods, nor one of those fanciful beings, creatures of the popular mind springing in the very infancy of Northern civilization, '*one amongst the personages of the early mythology of the Teutonic people*', as Mr. Wright informs us: but a person who had a veritable existence quite within historic time, a man of like feelings and passions as we are. Not, however, a Saxon struggling against the Norman power in the first and second reigns of the House of Anjou, nor one of the

¹ For further precise and minute details, the reader is desired to consult Mr. Hunter's tract, pp. 36 to 41.

Exheredati of the reign of king Henry III : but one of the *Contrariantes* of the reign of king Edward II, and living in the early years of the reign of king Edward III, but whose birth is to be carried back into the reign of king Edward I, and fixed in the decennary period 1285 to 1295 : that he was born in a family of some station and respectability seated at Wakefield or in villages around : that he, as many others, partook of the popular enthusiasm which supported the earl of Lancaster, the great baron of those parts, who, having attempted in vain various changes in the government, at length broke out into open rebellion, with many persons, great and small, following his standard : that when the earl fell, and there was a dreadful proscription, a few persons who had been in arms not only escaped the hazards of battle, but the arm of the executioner : that he was one of these : and that he protected himself against the authorities of the time, partly by secreting himself in the depths of the woods of Barnsdale or of the forest of Sherwood, and partly by intimidating the public officers by the opinion which was abroad of his unerring bow, and his instant command of assistance from numerous comrades as skilled in archery as himself : that he supported himself by slaying the wild animals who were found in the forest and by levying a species of black-mail on passengers along the great road which united London with Berwick, occasionally replenishing his coffers by seizing upon treasure as it was being transported on the road : that there was a self-abandonment and a courtesy in the way in which he proceeded, which distinguishes him from the ordinary highwayman : that he laid down the principle, that he would take from none but those who could afford to lose, and that if he met with poor persons he would bestow upon them some part of what he had taken from the rich ; in short, that in this respect he was the supporter of the rights or supposed reasonable expectations of the middle and lower ranks, a *leveller* of the times : that he continued this course for about twenty months, April 1322 to December 1323, meeting with various adventures, as such a person must needs do, some of which are related in the ballads respecting him : that when, in 1323, the king was intent upon freeing his forests from such marauders, he fell into the king's power : that this was at a time when the bitter feeling with which the king and the Spencers at first pursued those who had shown themselves such formidable adversaries had passed away, and a more lenient policy had supervened, the king, possibly for some secret and unknown reason, not only pardoned him all his transgressions, but gave him the place of one of the 'vadlets, porteurs de la chambre', in the royal household, which appointment he held for about a year, when the love for the unconstrained life he had led, and for the charms of the country, returned, and he left the court, and betook himself again to the greenwood shade : that he continued this mode of life, we know not exactly how long, and that at last he resorted to the prioress of Kirklees,

his own relative, for surgical assistance, and in that priory he died and was buried." (pp. 51-53.)

A few words upon the name of the poet, who, Mr. Hunter conjectures, wrote the legend of the *Lytell Geste*. He attributes it to Richard Rolle, an eremite residing in the nunnery of Hampole, four miles from Doncaster, whence he is usually called Richard of Hampole, or Richard Hampole. But the poems he wrote are all upon religious subjects; the best known of which is entitled *Stimulus Conscientiæ*; or, *The Prykke of Conscience*.¹ Mr. Wharton, in his history of English poetry, makes several quotations from it; but he characterizes it as one which has in it no tincture of sentiment, imagination, or eloquence. Mr. Hunter's reason for assigning it to him is his contiguity to the woodland scenes in which he lived, which were not far from Barnsdale, and that he might have composed it to break the monotony of his meditations, and to relieve the tedium of a monastic life. He flourished in the year 1349.

Now, upon looking through Mr. Ritson's *Biographia Poetica*, I find, within about a century after Robin Hood's exploits, several poets whose writings approach much nearer to the ballad or historical style than that of the Hermit of Hampole.

I once thought that Longland, the author of *Pierce Plowman's Vision*, or the writer of *Pierce Plowman's Crede*, might, from their peculiar satirical style in the abuse of priests and ecclesiastics, have been the inditers of the legend. But they, as well as Hampole, in my opinion, lived too near the era of Robin Hood; and the language of their poems, in the opinion of Dr. Whitaker, is the purest Saxon that

¹ During the visit of the members of the Association to Lincoln, I visited the library of the dean and chapter, and inspected several of the manuscripts therein, obligingly shown to me by the librarian in attendance, more particularly the celebrated volume known by the name of the Thornton MSS., containing no less than sixty-five rare works in poetry and prose. Among these, I discovered the following by Richard Rolle, or the Hermit of Hampole:—

32. A Tale that Richard Hermit (made).

33. A Prayer that the same Richard Hermit made, that is buried at Hampole.

38. Richardus Heremyta, fol. 195.

39. Ihu. inferius, Idem Richardus.

40. A notabyll Tretys off the ten commandmentys, drawn by Richarde the hermyte of Hampulla.

41. Id. de septem donis Spiritus Sancti, fol. 196.

42. Id. de delectatione in Deo.

54. Prose treatise, perhaps by Hampole, fol. 219.

exists, clearly shewing the legend was written since their date.

There are many among the poets of the *fifteenth* century, a few of whose names I shall mention, much more likely to have been the writer, leaving Chaucer and Skelton out of the question (though the *Lytell Geste* has been attributed to each of these), every poem which they have written having been diligently brought to light by Mr. Tyrwhitt and Mr. Dyce; although the *Lytell Geste* has been attributed to each of them.

I will first mention Occleve, who, according to Ritson, was the author of several ballads, which were once in the well-known collection of Mr. Heber. Next is a person of the name of John Lucas, who, according to Ritson, composed or collected, about 1450, a folio volume of songs or ballads, which Ames once had in his possession; and where is there the bibliomaniac or the ballad collector that would not give 100*l.* for such a volume? Then there is Lydgate, the author of several light poems and ballads, such as *The Chorle and the Bird*, beside his well-known prolix poem *The Siege of Troy*. But I cannot help thinking that it might have been the author of the well-known legend *Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William Cloudeslie*. This piece, in its very words, its imagery and metre, exactly corresponds with the *Lytell Geste*, except that it is not divided into stanzas. The whole legend is full of incidents so remarkably similar to the *Lytell Geste*, that, at any rate, I think I may be allowed to place it in the same category of poetical legends and ballads; and I heartily wish that Mr. Hunter had been as fortunate in the discovery of the author of the *Lytell Geste* as he has, in my opinion, been, in the veritable existence of Robin Hood.

ON
THE ERA AND CHARACTER OF ROBIN HOOD.

BY J. O. HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THE recent publication by Mr. Hunter on the subject of Robin Hood, in which he attempts to prove from records that the ballad-hero was a veritable historical personage, has drawn much attention to this interesting question. Without pretending to the discovery of any fresh evidence, I still, however, cannot but think a new and intelligible *résumé* of the arguments on Robin Hood's true character may not be without its use : carefully avoiding the essay-character of my predecessors, and placing before my hearers in the plainest manner, and in due order, all the facts of any importance in determining the question, I hope to enable each of you to be in the possession of sufficient information to draw your own conclusions. It would be easy to invest the subject with much detail, historical investigation, and generalization ; but it is the chief use of papers, on occasions like the present, to yield information, and at the same time so to arrange the materials, that they may be made to possess some novelty in the deductions to which they lead, and perhaps to assist in the discovery of truth.

Robin Hood is not mentioned by any writer previous to the latter part of the fourteenth century. The only early authentic notice of him as an historical character, is met with in the pages of Fordun, who travelled and wrote in the latter part of that century, and who introduces a notice of the hero, after relating the final defeat, in the latter part of Henry III's reign, of the great national party of England under Simon de Montfort, and the vast number of confiscations that ensued upon the triumph of the king and the foreign courtiers. Fordun's notice is as follows :—

“ Then from among the dispossessed and the banished arose that most famous cut-throat, Robin Hood and Little John, with their accomplices ; whom the foolish multitude are so extravagantly fond of celebrating in

tragedy and comedy; and the ballads concerning whom, sung by the jesters and minstrels, delight them beyond all others; of whom, however, some praiseworthy facts are narrated, as appears in this: Once upon a time, in Barnsdale, where he was avoiding the wrath of the king, and the rage of the prince, while engaged in very devoutly hearing mass, as he was wont to do,—nor would he interrupt the service for any occasion,—one day, I say, while so at mass, it happened that a certain viscount and other officers of the king, who had often before molested him, were seeking after him in that most retired woodland spot wherein he was thus occupied. Those of his men who first discovered this pursuit, came and entreated him to fly with all speed; but this, from reverence for the consecrated host, which he was then most devoutly adoring, he absolutely refused to do. While the rest of his people were trembling for fear of death, Robert alone, confiding in Him whom he fearlessly worshipped, with the very few whom he then had beside him, encountered his enemies, overcame them with ease, was enriched by their spoils and ransom, and was thus induced to hold ministers of the Church and masses in greater veneration than ever, as mindful of the common saying:

“‘Hunc Deus exaudit, qui missam sæpius audit’.”

Now, apart from the circumstance that this account only appears in a late manuscript of Fordun, preserved in the Harleian collection, which appears to be of little authority, even supposing it to be Fordun's genuine production, I would ask any intelligent reader this question,—if we accept it as truth, and take it for granted Robin Hood was a famous person under the circumstances above mentioned,—is it to be believed that no notice of him whatever should occur in contemporary history? There is no want of historians who treat of the period, and had so notorious a person existed in the latter part of the thirteenth century, he must unquestionably have been noticed by Matthew Paris, Benedictus Abbas, or other writers. In the stead of this, we merely find him mentioned as a subject of popular ballads, in a work composed a century after his death.

The pith of all real information respecting Robin Hood, may be truly said to be contained in the above extract. The collections of Ritson, and the more elegant and elaborate volumes edited by Mr. Gutch, will be found, on examination, to contain the evidence of a period after the fourteenth century. The early ballads on the subject are most numerous, but it seems scarcely credible—were there

not so many evidences of antiquaries forgetting the relative values of testimonies on a favourite question—that these romantic compositions should be treated as evidence. Once admit the principle,—which is quite independent of the specious argument produced by Mr. Hunter, in the circumstance of some few early poetical pieces being formed on real occurrences,—we may at once write a life of Richard Cœur de Lion from the almost interminable poem on the lion-hearted king, which was so popular in the fourteenth century. There is no limit to the absurdities this kind of reasoning would sanction.

Mr. Hunter and Mr. Wright reject the passage in Fordun as interpolated; but the former having discovered, in the Exchequer records, a mention of two persons of the name of Simon and Robert Hod, as porters of the royal chamber, near the end of the reign of Edward II, concludes that this Robert or Robin Hod was “the great hero of the ancient minstrelsy of England”. Mr. Hunter supports this view by quotations from the ballads; but the coincidences are forced and unlikely, and the name of Hood was then, as now, so very common in this country, the mere occurrence of it in a record, unaccompanied by any notice or allusion to the outlaw’s supposed character, is surely a very unsafe testimony on which to found an argument.

All other early notices of Robin Hood allude evidently to him merely as a subject of romance or ballads. These, if collected, would prove that from the latter part of the fourteenth century, the public were extremely fond of all poems on the subject. How much earlier than this they were current, it is now impossible to determine; for while we can confidently rely on the certainty of all great characters and events being mentioned by one or other of the middle-age historians, it is only by accident they notice any of the popular stories or traditions.

There is, fortunately, preserved a Robin Hood ballad-poem of the fourteenth century; one, no doubt, of those mentioned by Fordun or his interpolator. It is written, as Mr. Wright observes, in a southern and correct dialect, and is much superior in poetical execution to any that follow. The opening is simple and beautiful, and with a few alterations, I accept Mr. Wright’s analysis. As the

earliest known fragment on the subject, it is highly important, as showing the character of the Robin Hood tales current at that early period :

“ In summer, when the shaws be sheen,¹
 And leaves be large and long,
 It is full merry in fair forest
 To hear the fowls’ song.
 To see the dear draw to the dale,
 And leave the hills hee,
 And shadow them in the leaves green,
 Under the greenwood tree.”

One May morning, in Whitsuntide, when the sun shone bright, and the birds sung, Robin Hood determined to go to Nottingham to hear mass. Little John, who was his only companion, proposed “to shoot a penny” as they passed through the wood; and he, having gained five shillings from his master, a strife arose, which ended in their mutually parting from each other. It may be just worth while to observe, *en passant*, a penny in those days was a small silver coin, not the huge piece of copper which now passes under that name. Little John returned to the forest of Sherwood, and Robin Hood proceeded to Nottingham, where he entered St. Mary’s church, and knelt down before the rood. A monk, whom he had robbed of a hundred pounds, recognized him, and carried information to the sheriff, who caused the gates of the town to be closed, surrounded the church with his company, and secured the outlaw, who broke his sword on the sheriff’s head in defending himself. The monk was despatched with tidings to the king at London, and Little John and Much, who had learned the disaster which had happened to their master, determined to waylay him :

“ Forth then went these yeomen two,
 Little John and Much in fere,
 And looked on Much eme’s house,
 The highway full near.

Little John stood at a window in the morning,
 And looked forth at a stage,
 He was ware when the monk came riding,
 And with him a little page.

¹ That is, when the woods are bright.

By my faith, said Little John to Much,
I can thee tell tidings good;
I see where the monk comes riding,
I know him by his wide hood."

Little John and Much went to the monk, learnt from his own mouth the tidings he carried, slew him and his page, and themselves carried the letters of the sheriff to the king, telling him, that the monk who should have brought them was dead by the way. He was much rejoiced by the contents of the sheriff's letters, rewarded well the bearers, made them both yeomen of the crown, and gave them letters to the sheriff of Nottingham, commanding that Robin Hood should be sent to the king. On their arrival at Nottingham, they found the gates fastened, and they were not admitted until they had shown the king's seal. When the sheriff saw the letters, he inquired, naturally enough, after the monk, and was informed by Little John, that the king was so gratified by the intelligence, of which he had been the bearer, that he had made him abbot of Westminster. At night, Little John and Much went to the jail:

"Little John called up the gaoler,
And bade him arise anon;
He said Robin Hood had broken prison,
And out of it was gone.
The porter arose anon, certain,
As soon as he heard John call.
Little John was ready with a sword,
And bare him to the wall.
Now will I be porter, said Little John,
And take the keys in hond;
He took the way to Robin Hood,
And soon he him unbound.
He gave him a good sword in his hand,
His head with for to keep;
And there as the walls were lowest,
Anon down can they leap."

When they reached the forest, Robin and Little John were immediately reconciled, and the escape of the outlaw was celebrated by festivity amongst his followers:

“They filled in wine, and made them glad
 Under the leaves small,
 And eat pasties of venison,
 That good were withall.”

The anger of the king loses itself in his admiration of the fidelity of Little John to his master :

“He is true to his master, said our king ;
 I say, by sweet saint John,
 He loves better Robin Hood
 Than he does us each one.

Robin Hood is ever bound to him,
 Both in street and hall.”

Listen to the king's royal reply :

“Speak no more of this matter, said our king,
 But John has beguiled us all.”

Ballad poems of this kind were the foundation of the numerous street ballads on Robin Hood, which may be said to be still current ;—at least, it is not more than two years, since I bought a modern sheet reprint of a very old traditional song on the celebrated outlaw, out of an umbrella stall in Oxford-street,—a circumstance somewhat curious, as showing the tenacity of their popular character. It is scarcely necessary to enter into an argument with those who would invest a poem like the above, much less more modern ones, with a real historical character. The very utmost that can be credited, is the possibility of there having existed, towards the close of the thirteenth century, an outlaw of the name of Robin Hood ; and that, by some accidental circumstances, his name became involved in numerous romantic stories of archery and the forest, and a subject which the ballad writers of the succeeding centuries adopted and appropriated at their pleasure. Judging, however, from the great number of early Robin Hood poems, and their wonderful popularity, joined to the evidently very ancient character of many of the incidents recorded in them, I feel satisfied it is most unsafe to rely on the very insufficient evidences of his existence to which I have alluded. In all probability, he was a mythic personage ; and the conjecture, that the name was merely a corruption of Robin of the Wood, is by no

means an impossible one. In these discussions, it has never been observed that in one of the earliest romantic poems on the subject of an archer outlaw known to exist, and which, as far as the fragment allows any conclusion, agreed very closely with one of the Robin Hood stories, the hero is merely called Robin, without any surname. This circumstance appears to me to offer a very strong support to the opinion, that the Robin Hood poems were merely formed on others of a more primitive character, and were not original compositions, founded on the deeds of any real personage; and, as a collateral evidence, it is worthy of remark, that the number and variety of mounds, stones, and wells, attributed to Robin Hood, instead of being confined to one locality, as might have been expected, had the outlaw been the real hero of Sherwood at so comparatively recent a period, are scattered throughout the whole kingdom,—the records of him, and the giants of early Britain, finding a similar traditional character in the legends and names of localities preserved by the English peasantry.

ON ANCIENT CUSTOMS AND SPORTS OF THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM.

BY LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, ESQ.

HAVING been requested by the council to follow up the papers which I have had the honour of reading before previous congresses, on the sports and customs of the counties of Chester and Derby, by one on those connected with the county of Nottingham, I have thrown together—too hastily I fear for the interest of the subject—a few notes on some of the more prominent sports and pastimes, manners and customs, of this district, which I trust may be the means of inducing others of our friends to give us more extended notices; as it must be evident to every archæologist and

historian that to these remnants of the habits of our early forefathers, we are indebted for the transmission of much that is valuable, and of which we have no other record remaining. Truly may it be said, that to traditional and customal records is owing most that is curious and valuable in the history of the past ages—for to them do we look for the elucidation of many doubtful points, and for the filling up of numerous “gaps” in history, which, but for their help, would yet remain open.

Nottinghamshire is so closely and intimately connected with the adjoining county of Derby, that their sports and customs are in many respects identical with each other. It will therefore be unnecessary to enter at any length into those I have before described, but to pay more attention to those which are peculiar to the district in which we are now assembled.

Of the new year’s customs, the wassail was until recently observed to a considerable extent in this county. This friendly and neighbour-loving custom was observed by the young women of the village, who accustomed themselves to go about from door to door on new year’s eve, neatly dressed for the occasion, and bearing a bowl richly decorated with evergreens and ribbands, and filled with a compound of ale, roasted apples, and toast, and seasoned with nutmeg and sugar. The bowl was offered to the inmates, with the singing of the following amongst other verses:—

“ Good master, at your door,
Our wassail we begin;
We all are maidens poor,
So we pray you let us in,
And drink our wassail.
All hail wassail!
Wassail, wassail!
And drink our wassail!”

On this night, in many parts of the county as well as in Derbyshire, a muffled peal is rung on the church bells until twelve o’clock, when the bandages are removed from the bells whilst the clock is striking, and a merry peal is instantly struck up;—this is called “ringing the old year out and the new year in.” On the first day of the year, new year’s gifts were, and I believe still are, general; indeed gifts at all seasons appear to be so well appreciated

in this county, that there is little fear of this custom becoming obsolete.

In some parts of the county troops of little children might be seen, a few years since, each bearing an orange, an apple, or a nutmeg, sometimes gilded and stuck with cloves or rosemary, which they were carrying to their friends to ask their blessing; the present thus given was generally carefully preserved. On this day it is considered unlucky to remove anything from a house until something has been brought in; and therefore each member of the family carries some trifling thing in early in the morning. In the neighbourhood of Newark I have heard this rhyme:—

“Take out, and take in,
Bad luck is sure to begin;
But take in, and take out,
Good luck will come about.”

And there is a common belief in some parts of the county, not at all flattering to the gallantry of the inhabitants, that if a female be the first person to enter a house on new year's morning, ill luck for the rest of the year is sure to follow. On Twelfth-day the customs appear to have been very similar to those in the adjoining counties; kings and queens were chosen, and the evening spent in joy and merriment, the Twelfth cake being borne in with much ceremony.

On Candlemas eve it was formerly customary, in the villages bordering on the Trent, to decorate the churches, and indeed houses, with branches of box, and to light up a number of candles in the evening, as being the last day of Christmas rejoicings—“On Candlemas day throw candles away”, is a popular proverb for the following day.

On Valentine's day the usual custom of sending anonymous scraps of poetry, is still to a considerable extent indulged in in this county, and many are the anxious thoughts and importunate inquiries after the real author of these harmless perpetrations: well might it be said by an ancient writer, that “poets this day shall get mightily by their pamphlets, for an hundred of elaborate lines shall be lesse esteemed in London than an hundred of Walfleet oysters at Cambridge”; for no writings are more ephemeral than they are. Drawing lots or billets, for valentines, is still a

custom in the neighbourhood of Mansfield, where a few young men and maidens meet together, and having put each their own name on a slip of paper, they are all placed together in a hat or basket, and drawn in regular rotation. Should a young man draw a *girl's* name, and she *his*, it is considered ominous, and not unfrequently ends in real love and a wedding.

The sports appertaining to Shrove-tide were anciently much in use in various parts of Nottinghamshire: these consisted of cock-fighting, throwing at the cock, threshing the fat hen, and other such-like cruel and unmanly diversions; but besides these there are happily other customs of this season, of a much more rational character, and which bid fair to be preserved so long as the Nottinghamshire people love good living; these are, the eating of pancakes and fritters,—which are so universally relished in this neighbourhood, that for some time before Shrove Tuesday the prices of eggs and milk are said to rise considerably.

“It was the day whereon both rich and poore
Are chiefly feasted on the self-same dish,
When every paunch, till it can hold no more,
Is *fritter* filled, as well as heart can wish:
And every man and mayde doe take their turne,
And tosse their *pancakes* up, for fear they burne;
And all the kitchen doth with laughter sound,
To see the pancakes fall upon the ground.”¹

On mid-Lent, “Careing” or “Mothering” Sunday, mothering cakes used to be presented to parents when asking their blessing; on these occasions a feast of furmety was usually prepared, as was also the good old dish of “carlings”, or peas fried in butter, pepper, and salt. This custom was formerly very general in Newark, and one of its fairs was named “Careing fair,” and held on the Friday before Careing Sunday.

“Care Sunday, care away,
Palm Sunday and Easter day”,

is an old Nottinghamshire couplet alluding to this day. On Palm Sunday the usual triumphal carrying of the palm branches was and is pretty general throughout the

¹ Pasquil's *Palinodia*, 1634.

county; and on All-Fools' day I believe there are as many unfortunate victims yet made as was ever the case.

On Good Friday, "Hot-cross-buns" are prepared and eaten in almost every household; and if we may judge by the avidity with which they are devoured, the people of this county must be lucky indeed, for it is a general belief amongst them that those who partake of the buns will have good fortune for the rest of the year.

"Good Friday comes this month, the old woman runs
With one a penny, two a penny, *hot-cross buns*;
Whose virtue is, if you'll believe what's said,
They'll not grow mouldy like the common bread."¹

At Easter, pasch eggs are still occasionally prepared, and in some parts of the county, I have seen festoons of these ornaments decorating the rooms of cottages. On the Yorkshire side of the county, the tansy pudding is still prepared:—

"On Easter Sunday be the pudding seen,
To which the tansy lends her sober green."

On Easter Monday, the mayor and aldermen of Nottingham, with their wives, used formerly to attend divine service, and then march in solemn procession to St. Ann's Well, attended by the "clothing" and their wives, with the officers of the town, preceded by the town waits, and followed by a number of the inhabitants. The custom of blessing wells obtained in other parts of the county; and at Newark was a celebrated well, said to have been peculiarly efficacious in the cure of leprosy; this well is said to have had its origin in the death of a true lover, who was slain on the spot, and in the ballad which commemorates the event, the murderer, as a punishment, is sorely afflicted with leprosy; but having repented, is told by St. Catherine in a vision that he can only be cleansed by the waters caused to flow by the death of sir Everard; he then performs a weary pilgrimage to the spot, and is restored to health and a godly life. There is also a well of note at Southwell.

In Rogation week the bounds of many of the parishes are still beaten with as much pomp by the beadle, and as

¹ Poor Robin.

much noise by the urchins who follow him, as was ever the case; and it is believed that if an egg which is *laid* on Ascension-day be placed in the roof of a house, the building will be preserved from fire and other calamities.

The May-day customs are in many respects similar to those of other counties, but Nottinghamshire has the honor of being the parent of most of the happy sports which characterize this joyous period of the year, from the fact of most of the May-day games having had their origin in the world-famous Robin Hood, whose existence and renown are so intimately connected with this district. His connexion with "merry Sherwood" and the sheriff of Nottingham, have been universal themes for centuries; and these and the "Miller of Mansfield", and the "wise men of Gotham", have done more towards making this county famous, than all the rest of the ballads and popular literature put together. May-poles and morris dances were formerly very general, and the characters of Robin Hood, Little John, Friar Tuck, Maid Marion, and the Hobby Horse, were well sustained. The Maypoles were sometimes very elegantly ornamented, and surmounted by flags and streamers of various colours. One was, not many years ago, remaining by Hucknall Folkard, and at the top were portions of the ironwork and decorations, still in being. The origin of the May-day games and their connexion with Robin Hood, is a subject of great interest, but I shall refrain from entering upon it in this paper, because our talented friend Mr. Gutch will, in his promised paper on that chieftain, do him infinitely more justice than I could hope to do, and will, I am sure, thank me for not intrenching on ground which he will so much more ably occupy. The morris dance was unquestionably one of the most popular of the many games incident to this season, and was very generally prevalent throughout this county; and many are the ballads dedicated to its observance. The following is of 1614:—

"It was my hap of late by chance
To meet a country morris dance,
When, chiefest of them all, the foole
Plaid with a ladle and a toole;
When every younker shak't his bels . . .

And fine Maid Marion, with her smoile,
Showed how a rascal plaid the roile,
And when the hobby-horse did wihy,
Then all the wenches gave a tihy," etc.

May-day, although a day of general holiday and rejoicing, is nevertheless considered, as is the whole of the month, unlucky for marriage, and I believe few are celebrated on this day;—more weddings, I apprehend, being hastened, so as to be over before this day, than postponed until June. This does not apply to divinations for future partners, for in some parts of the county it is usual to prepare a sweet mixture on the 1st of May, composed of new milk, cakes, wine and spice, and for the assembled company to fish with a ladle for a ring and a sixpence which have been dropped into the bowl; the young man who gains the ring, and the young woman the sixpence, being supposed to be intended for each other.

On Royal Oak day (May 29th), branches of that tree are still carried in procession, and decorate many of the signs of public houses in Nottingham and elsewhere.

The Whitsuntide sports have much degenerated; and now, instead of a renewed Morris and Whitsun ales, a dance in a public-house parlour, to the tones of a strolling French piano, and an immoderate indulgence in Newark ales, are pretty generally substituted. Bonfires were sometimes lighted on Midsummer's eve, and the assembled people leaped and re-leaped over them with considerable agility. Fern-seed was also gathered on this evening for the purposes of divination, and was said to be very efficacious in causing the future husband to appear to his expecting mistress. Deering says, that in Nottingham on this evening,—

"They keep a general watch . . . to which every inhabitant of any ability sets forth a man, as well voluntaries as those who are charged with arms, with such munition as they have; some pikes, some muskets, calivers, or other guns, some partisans, or halberts, and such as have armour send their servants in their armour. The number of these are yearly about two hundred, who at sun-setting meet on the Row, the most open part of the town, where the mayor's serjeant-at-mace gives them an oath, the tenor whereof followeth in these words: 'You shall well and truly keep this town till to-morrow at the sun-rising; you shall come into no house without license or cause reasonable. Of all manner of casualties, of fire, of cry-

ing of children, you shall due warning make to the parties, as the case shall require. You shall due search make of all manner of affrays, bloudsheds, outcrys, and all other things that be suspected, etc., which done they all march in orderly array through the principal streets of the town, and then they are sorted into several companies, and designed to several parts of the town, where they are to keep the watch until the sun dismisses them in the morning. In this business the fashion is for every watchman to wear a garland, made in the fashion of a crown imperial, bedecked with flowers of various kinds, some natural some artificial, bought and kept for that purpose, as also ribbands, jewels; and for the better garnishing whereof, the townsmen use the day before to ransack the gardens of all the gentlemen within six or seven miles round Nottingham, besides what the town itself affords them; their greatest ambition being to outdo one another in the bravery of their garlands."

This custom appears to have been general in Nottingham in the reign of Charles I.

The custom of eating geese at Michaelmas is very general in this county, and the mayor of Nottingham formerly appears to have given a feast of "hot roasted geese" on the last day of his mayoralty previous to the election of his successor. At Nottingham, the great autumnal fair is called "goose fair", and it formerly continued for twenty-one days; this fair, although now gradually losing favour, was, until lately, one of the largest and most important in this part of the kingdom, and was looked forward to with great anxiety by all the country round, as one of the principal holidays of the year. It has more than once been celebrated in song, and there is a curious black-letter ballad in the Roxburghe collection, entitled "The Unconsonable Batchelors of Darby: or the Yong Lasses pawned by their Sweet-hearts for a large reckning, at Nottingham Goose-Fair, where poor Susan was forced to pay the shot"; which recounts in quaint language the disasters of the day. It is a popular belief, that if you eat goose on Michaelmas-day you will not want money until that time next year; and this belief may in some measure account for the general desire to ensure so good a dinner.

The feast of All Hallows is the season for divinations all over the kingdom, and Nottinghamshire has never been behind its neighbours in this species of superstition. If a girl had two lovers, and wished to know which

would be the most constant, she procured two brown apple pippins, and, sticking one on each cheek (after having named them from her lovers), while she repeated this couplet,—

“ Pippen, pippen, I stick thee there,
That that is true thou mayst declare”,

patiently awaited until one fell off, when the unfortunate swain whose name it bore, was instantly discarded as being unfaithful. I suspect, however, that a voluntary movement of the cheek may in some instances have rendered the fall of the least loved rival more a matter of choice than of accident: it is to this custom that Gay has thus alluded:—

“ See from the core two kernels now I take :
This on my cheek for Lubberkin is worn,
And Booby Clod on t’other side is borne ;
But Booby Clod soon falls upon the ground,
A certain token that his love ’s unsound ;
While Lubberkin sticks firmly to the last ;
Oh! were his lips to mine but joined so fast !”

Several other divinations and charms were practised in this county for the same purpose, but the above is still in much repute in the neighbourhood of Lenton.

On the 5th of November bonfires are lighted, and Guys paraded through the streets; and on St. Thomas’s day the boys go from house to house begging a “Thomasin”, as before described.

The Christmas festivities are nearly synonymous with those described at Derby; the houses are decorated with holly, ivy, and miseltie; the mummers, or guisers, pass from house to house, and still perform their play of St. George with all the precision and care of a band of regularly organized “strolling players”; the yule log still burns as brightly as ever on the hearths of the cottages; Christmas carols are sung about the streets, Christmas boxes collected with as much ardour as could possibly have been shown by our ancestors; and the roast-beef, the plum-pudding, and the home-brewed ale, have not yet fallen into disrepute. At Nottingham, on Christmas-eve, as well as in many of the villages, it is customary to roast apples on a string until they drop into a bowl of hot spiced ale,

which is placed to receive them; this, from the softness of the beverage, is called "lamb's wool"; to this Shakespeare alludes thus:—

"Sometimes lurk I in a gossip's bowl,
In very likeness of a roasted crab;
And when she drinks, against her lips I bob,
And on her withered dewlap pour the ale."

There is a very pretty custom, now nearly obsolete, but which I have noticed in this county as well as in Derbyshire, of bearing the "vessel", or, more properly, the wassail-cup, at Christmas. This consists of a box containing two dolls, dressed up to represent the Virgin and the infant Christ, decorated with ribbands and surrounded by flowers and apples; the box had usually a glass lid, was covered over by a white napkin, and carried from door to door on the arms of a woman; on the top, or in the box, a china basin was placed; and the bearer, on reaching a house, uncovered the box and sang the "Seven Joys of the Virgin".

The carrying of this wassail cup was usually a fortunate speculation, as it was considered so unlucky to send one away unrequited, that but few could be found whose temerity was so great as to deter them from giving some halfpence to the singer. On Plough Monday, as well as during the Christmas holidays, the plough bullocks are still to be seen in various parts of the county. This extremely picturesque and popular custom,—with its plough, drawn by farmer's men, gaily dressed in ribbands, its drivers, with their long wands and bladders, its sword-dancers, its fool and its celebrated Bessy, and hobby-horse,—I have described in my *Derbyshire paper*,¹ it will therefore be sufficient to say, that amongst other places the neighbourhoods of Newstead, Mansfield, and Southwell, are still famous for its observance, and that it has been well described by Washington Irving in his *Newstead Abbey*.

Country wakes, or feasts, on the saint's day to which the parish church is dedicated, are kept up with much rejoicing; these were formerly accompanied by bull and

¹ See vol. vii, pp. 199-210.

bear-baitings, cock-fighting, and other unmanly sports, which are now happily abolished. Amongst other customs prevalent in this county, the "groaning-cake", or "groaning-cheese", were formerly made against the birth of a child, and to be cut for the first time on that occasion. If a cheese, it was usual to pierce it in the middle when the child was born, and to keep cutting from the centre until the circular rind only was left, and through this the infant was to be passed at its christening. The groaning-cheese is alluded to in an old play of the "Nottinghamshire Tragedy of the Fayre Mayde of Clifton".

In Mansfield and other places, "statutes" or hiring-fairs were held, when it was usual for the servant-men and maids who were "out of place", to arrange themselves in rows, with a ribband, leaf, or other distinctive mark to show they were on hire. The farmers and housekeepers then passed along the rows, making inquiries and examining appearances until satisfied with some one, when a bargain was immediately struck, and ratified by the gift of a shilling as "earnest" money.

Hawking was formerly a very prevalent sport in this county, and the manor of Radeclывe was held by the service of mewing a goshawk. There are also some curious superstitions and legends connected with this sport, and with some fine old trees at Welbeck and at Clipstone.

Many other customs were and are still observed in this district, which, did time permit of their notice, would be found to be equally as interesting and curious as any of those I have mentioned; but enough may, I hope, have been said to create an interest in the subject, and to awaken a feeling of reverence for those living links of our forefathers which the remnants of their manners and customs remaining at the present day present, and which recall to us their domestic habits and religious superstitions, much more vividly than all the pages of written history to which we can refer.

The customs of different localities vary in many important particulars from each other, and, as I have before observed, it is only by careful collection, comparison, and analogy, that the historical student is enabled to trace the true origin of each, and to assign to each fragment thus

procured its proper place in history. I would therefore venture earnestly to urge on our friends in this county and elsewhere, the importance of forwarding notices of such remains of ancient manners and customs as may come under their observation, in order that they may be properly recorded and preserved.

ON
EXCAVATIONS NEAR THE ROMAN WALL ON
TOWER HILL, LONDON, AUGUST 1852.

BY ALEXANDER HORACE BURKITT, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE portion of the Roman city wall, as seen in Postern Row, Tower Hill, to which it runs at right angles, has recently been exposed several feet below the foundations, by excavations being made for cellars and stables, which will cover in a considerable portion of these interesting remains. I have taken some pains, during the progress of the work, to pay it several visits, to make drawings and measurements of the various parts. On the original bed of gravel, a bed of concrete occurs, which is about three feet thick, and composed of rough flints and clay, the whole forming a solid and compact mass. On this bed are laid two layers of rag-stones, about ten inches thick, over which are the footings of the wall. These are of fine red sand-stone, each beveled off at the sides, which project somewhat from the rest of the work. The occurrence of these stones is peculiar, as in no other portion of the wall has that same sort of stone been used, as well as from the fact of their having been derived from a quarry at some distance from that of the stone used in the other parts of the building.

The entire range of these stones laid open at one view,





exceeded thirty in number, the sizes varying from one to two feet in length, and eleven inches in thickness. On these are two rows of rag-stones, which bring it up to the present level of the ground. Four feet above this, a double row of red tiles are laid; and with an interval of four feet of the same class of rag-stone wall, is another layer of tile work. Above this, the general derangement indicates restorations of the Roman work, and which is composed of rough stones, bricks, and broken tiles, carelessly laid, and evidently the *débris* of the original wall.

During the excavations, at about the level of the footings, the workmen came to what they described as a complete quarry of stones, cut in various forms, with mortices at the angles, and evidently belonging to some important building. The number of these stones amounted to one hundred and twenty-five, varying from two to five superficial feet, and several larger, making forty cart-loads.

Some notion of the general character of these remains may be formed by a reference to Plate 30. They consisted of mouldings of various patterns, portions of pilasters and capitals, with fragments of a coarse oolite stone, coated with a fine plaister, on which were described devices and letters, in red colour, but coarsely executed, and too fragmentary to decipher, more than a few detached letters. On one of these were the letters *svp*. A large portion of a quern was also found, of volcanic formation, probably from the Lower Eifel district on the Rhine, with a peculiarly formed lip round the centre hole.

By far the most interesting of these remains was that of a portion of a monumental tablet, with the inscription in remarkably bold and beautiful characters, *DIS ANIBVS . . . AB. AI PINI. CLASSICIANI*. This appears to throw some light on the subject, and in some degree to account for the presence of the other portions of the sculptured stones, and which may fairly be presumed to have formed a portion of an important building erected to the memory of some distinguished personage. The two latter words, *PINI. CLASSICIANI*, appear to imply that the deceased was connected with the navy, probably a commander, in the service of our early conquerors. The extreme eastern portion of the city wall, and facing its approach by the

river, favours a notion of its being an appropriate situation for an erection of that description.

Several portions of these interesting fragments have found shelter in our national collection. Besides the inscription, and a beautiful circular ornamented moulding with scale and knot-pattern on the surface, there are two pieces of a pilaster, and the quern before mentioned. Several cart-loads of bones, chiefly those of the ox, allied to the *bos primigenius* (Cuvier), have been excavated with the rubbish close under the walls.

British Archaeological Association.

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING,

NEWARK, 1852,

AUGUST 16TH TO 21ST INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 16.

A MEETING of the general committee, his grace the duke of Newcastle, president, in the chair, was held at four o'clock, in the Town Hall, to make arrangements for the reading of papers, regulations for the excursions, etc.; after which, an ordinary took place at the Clinton Arms.

At eight o'clock, William N. Nicholson, esq., the mayor, the aldermen and corporation of Newark, publicly received his grace the duke of Newcastle and the Association, when the mayor delivered the following address:—

“My lord duke and gentlemen.—We, the mayor, aldermen, and councillors of the ancient borough of Newark-upon-Trent, present you our respectful congratulations, with earnest and hearty welcome, on the occasion of your visit to a municipality partaking for centuries past in every fortune, prosperous or adverse, of the illustrious house of Newcastle, so distinguished for unswerving loyalty to the crown and church of these realms: a town, whose record is have been the centre of many a tented field, the stronghold of kings in their trying hour, indomitable by siege or assault, emphatically, the ‘key of the north’, still retaining many a trace of pristine dignity in tessellated pavements and sepulchral vase, in dyke and rampart of defence, in the architectural beauties of a peerless sanctuary, and, above all, in the majestic ruins of a far-renowned castle. You visit, my lord duke, a borough, metropolitan to a district adorned in all ages no less by men of the gown, the heralds of peace, than by the champions of the sword, where Cranmer the martyr, and Warburton most profound, and Secker most gentle of the sages of the church, first drew the breath of life; a theatre alike of chivalrous honour and Christian beneficence, blest beyond other communities in provision made by departed worth for the support of man in his decay, and for his education in youth.

“These pretensions of our native Newark, we presume to name as some justification of the distinguished notice of your grace, and your eminent and learned colleagues, in preferring to take for your centre of operations a town no way notable for pride of wealth or commercial superiority, when our very chiefest contemporaries would have rejoiced to welcome you.

“Arrogating no share in the just eulogy of our ancestors, be it permitted us only to show you the extant evidences of their loyalty and devotion, and in singular and happy contrast to exhibit the marvels of modern device with which engineering skill has adorned this vicinity, while the British Archæological Association, under the auspices of your grace, pass in careful review the

particulars of the scene, and with the lights of the time illustrate and identify them, and assign each relic of antiquity to its appropriate age ; effectually serving the cause of science, enhancing your own world-wide celebrity, and engaging for ever our grateful acknowledgments for distinction so conferred upon ourselves.

“Signed on behalf of the corporation of the borough of Newark, and sealed with the corporate seal of the said borough, this sixteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two,

“WILLIAM NEWZAM NICHOLSON, Mayor.”

The duke of Newcastle received the address of the mayor and corporation, and replied as follows :—

“I beg to offer you our sincere acknowledgments for the honourable and kind reception given us in this your ancient and remarkable borough ; and at the same time, I beg to thank you for the flattering address which you have been good enough to prepare and present to us before this the annual congress of our Association. To yourself, Mr. mayor, and to the rev. Mr. Hodgkinson, we are considerably indebted, and we beg to tender to you our thanks for the great assistance you have afforded in the preparations for the reception of so considerable a number of persons, and for the arrangements which your local knowledge and business-like habits enable you to carry out so efficiently, and which you have been so kind as to carry out. It would ill become me, standing here as one of the members of the Association, to trespass upon your attention by any lengthened allusion to the kind words which have been addressed to myself ; let me only say, therefore, that I value them as coming from the inhabitants of a town standing prominently in my affections—a town in whose welfare I shall ever feel the deepest interest. Let me thank you also for the interest you have shown in the progress of peace—an interest manifested by the reference to the facts and incidents named in your address. When you refer to the great importance of this town in history, and to those ages in the past, in which Newark was distinguished, I feel the greatest sympathy with every word you have uttered. You have referred to former days of honour and chivalry, and I sincerely hope that the days of the future may be of a different character. In the past, there have been periods of great civil strife and bloodshed ; and I not only hope, that the influence of those great men, whose teachings lead to the paths of peace and religion, and promote industrial development, diffusing abroad the greatest blessings of peace and civilization, will progress ; but I trust that the days which dismantled your magnificent castle may never return. I trust that in the future, instead of being engaged in those scenes of bloody rivalry, which are distinct features of the past, you may be engaged in the great and peaceable contest of civil rivalry—that great struggle of industry in which every town may honourably compete with another ; and my ardent wish is, that Newark may stand foremost in the march of progress and of peace : and I may hope, Mr. mayor, that you, who have obtained the proudest honour a town can confer upon one of its townsmen, and who take so profound an interest in the prosperity of Newark, may live to see it exceed its present prosperity, and rivalling all its past glories in the happy sense in which I have ventured to anticipate the future.”

The duke of Newcastle then proceeded to read his Inaugural Discourse. (See pp. 163-172 *ante*.)

On the motion of sir Oswald Mosley, bart., seconded by T. J. Pettigrew, esq., the thanks of the meeting were voted by acclamation to the president for his excellent address. Having acknowledged the compliment, his Grace called on J. M. Gutch, esq., to deliver his paper "On Robin Hood and His Ballads". (See pp. 208-222 *ante*.)

After the reading of the foregoing paper by Mr. Gutch, Mr. Planché made a few observations. He had understood that Mr. Hunter had completely disposed of the question, and therefore had not turned attention to it himself. But now that he had heard Mr. Hunter's theory, he—with all deference to that gentleman, for whose opinions he had always the greatest respect—must differ from him in his conclusion. There were certainly some curious coincidences between the story related in the "Lytell Geste" and the records quoted by Mr. Hunter: but he thought that similar ones might be found in another period of English history, which better corresponded with the earlier date generally assigned to Robin Hood, namely, the twelfth century. Mr. Planché repudiated as strongly as Mr. Hunter the belief of Mr. Thomas Wright, that the celebrated outlaw was a mythical personage. He considered that, however extravagant some of Dr. Stukeley's speculations were, the identification of Robin Hood with one of the family of Fitzodo, would not be an improbable result of future inquiries. They had heard that night the quotation from the *Vision of Pierce Ploughman*:

"But I kan rymes of Robyn Hode and Randolf earl of Chester."

Now it was a fact worthy of remark, that amongst the nobles and knights disinherited by Henry, duke of Normandy (afterwards Henry II), in the year 1152, the name of Fitzodo occurs as one whose whole fee was given to no less a personage than Ranulf, earl of Chester, as he should have occasion to remark in the paper he was about to read at Nottingham on the family of the Peverels. Mr. Hunter imagined the rhyme of Ranulf, earl of Chester, to be a separate ballad, commemorative of "the third Ranulf" (*i. e.*, Blundeville) "who lived not long before the outlaw"; but Mr. Planché thought, that in this instance, the allusion was particularly significant of some connexion between the second Ranulf (surnamed Gernons), who died in 1153, and the contemporary outlaw, whose lands had been bestowed upon him. There were many reasons which he could, and probably should, hereafter adduce for his belief that Robin Hood was one of the *Exheredati*; not, however, of those who had sided with Simon de Montfort in the reign of Henry III, but of those who had supported Stephen against Henry II, and whose adventures would consequently date between 1155 and 1216, or during the reigns of Henry II,

Richard I, and John,—the identical period assigned to Robin Hood by most of the ancient writers who have mentioned him.

A paper "On the Era and Character of Robin Hood", by J. O. Halliwell, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., was read. (See pp. 223-229 *ante*.)

Sir Fortunatus Dwaris, F.R.S., F.S.A., then read a paper "On the Forest Laws, Courts, and Customs, and the Chief Justices in Eyre, North and South of the Waters of the Trent." (See pp. 173-182 *ante*.) After which the meeting broke up.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 17.

The members and visitors of the Association, amounting to upwards of one hundred, assembled at an early hour to proceed by special train for Thurgarton, where they were most courteously received by Mr. and Mrs. Milward; and having been refreshed with an elegant breakfast, proceeded to view the church of Thurgarton and the priory. Of the latter a small portion only remains, and that forms a part of the residence of R. Milward, esq. Thurgarton Priory is the most ancient of the religious houses in Nottinghamshire. It was founded for canons of the order of St. Augustine, in the reign of Henry I, and according to Bishop Tanner about 1130, and was dedicated to St. Peter. The founder was Ralph de Ayncourt, and in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (vol. vi, pp. 191-194) the foundation charter, together with a large collection of deeds of gift from various benefactors, together with the confirmation charter from Edward III, may be found. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 26 Henry VIII, the gross revenue of this house amounted to £359:15:10, and the clear income £259:9:4 $\frac{3}{4}$. At its surrender the site was granted to Wm. Cooper and Cecily, his wife, 30 Henry VIII. A register of this priory, bearing date 1677, is in the library of the Collegiate Church of Southwell. The ancient priory having been pulled down, there remains only of the foundation a small portion, which is incorporated in the cellars. This, which forms part of a crypt, is carefully and worthily preserved by Mr. Milward. We have the authority of Mr. Dickinson Restall for stating, that the remains of the abbey that were destroyed were very grand, and consisting of a kitchen "vast and magnificent, almost beyond parallel or comparison".

Mr. Milward exhibited various sketches of the ancient ecclesiastical structure, and several relics obtained from it, among which was a collection of tiles, a selection of which is engraved in Plate 31.

The series of tiles obtained from Thurgarton priory is extremely interesting and curious, and, according to Mr. Jewitt, who has kindly examined these specimens, contains some new examples of fictile decoration. The tiles appear to belong to the latter part of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth centuries, and are mostly very charac-



MADE IN U.S.A.



ENCAUSTIC TILES.

THURGARTON PRIORY, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

teristic of the general designs of that period. Plate 31, fig. 1, exhibits the arms of Ralph De Ayencourt, the founder of the priory—a fesse dancette between ten billets. A similar tile was found a year ago in the ruins of St. Mary's abbey, York, and the same arms occur at Bredon. Fig. 2 has the arms of De Quincy, seven mascles, and it will be seen that the field in this, as well as in the royal arms (No. 15), has been partially cut away between the upper mascles in the forming of the wood-block for impressing the clay, but has been left standing in the lower portion of the shield. Fig. 3, with the arms of Cantilupe, is a curious example of the mode of showing the leopard's heads jessant-de-lis; it is engraved from a fragment, and has the shield surmounted by two birds. Fig. 4, has a curious grotesque figure, with a hood;¹ a tile of the same general design occurs in the Bede house of the Newark at Leicester, and one of a somewhat similar character was exhibited at the Derby congress, and engraved in the *Journal*, vol. vii, plate xli, fig. 16. Fig. 5, is a four-tile pattern, of unique design, the fleurs-de-lis being elaborately and elegantly foliated. In the centre, when placed together in sets of four, is a plain circle, and from it a cross is formed of small quatrefoil flowers. Fig. 6 has a stag of nearly similar design to one from Neath abbey, where the hunter and the hounds also appear; stags likewise occur at Great Bedwin, at Lewes, and other places. No. 7 is of peculiar design, consisting of a fret formed of two intersecting figures of the *vesica* shape, the outer spaces being filled in with foliage, and the centre containing a grotesque figure of a man. Fig. 8 has been much worn, but apparently bears a bell placed diagonally within a border, and having on either side a key and a sword, the emblems of SS. Peter and Paul; the angles being filled in with the trefoils. Figs. 9 and 10 are remarkable elegant and curious four-tile patterns of unique design; fig. 9, bearing the head of the monarch crowned with an open crown fleury, and having the hair flowing down either side of the face, as seen

¹ This figure is particularly remarkable, as being the only exact representation I have met with of one described as a badge or heraldic bearing of some kind displayed by the earl of Derby, constable of England, at the coronation of Elizabeth of York, queen of Henry VII. Leland, in his *Collectanea*, vol. iv, p. 225, says, that the earl was "mounted on a courser, richly trapped and enarmed; that is to say, quarterly, *golde*, in the first quarter a lion, *gowles*, having a mannes hede in a bycockett of silver, and in the ijde a lyon of *sable*. This trapper was right curiously wrought with the nedell, for the mannes visage in the bycockett shewed verily well favored." Mr. Willement, who has quoted this passage in his *Regal Heraldry*, p. 64, adds, "we are not informed by this curious document, whether this device pertained to the queen or to the lord constable; but part of it bears a strong resemblance to that on the fifth banner of her funeral solemnity." The charge on that banner was simply a man's head in a helmet, with the vizor raised; but in this tile we have the identical figure pourtrayed. Here is the lion, with a man's head in the pointed cap, called indifferently, "abocock, abococket, and bycockett", and its appearance in certain localities may lead to its correct appropriation, if it be actually an heraldic badge or other bearing.—J. R. PLANCHÉ.

on the coins of Edward I. Around the neck is an ornamented band, and the field within the quatrefoil is powdered with small flowers, whilst the outer angles are filled in with trefoils.¹ Fig. 10 has a circle elaborately formed of quatrefoil lozenges, extending over the surface of the four tiles; whilst within the circle each quarry bears a butterfly, with wings expanded,² and the outer angles are filled with oak leaves and acorns. Fig. 11 bears the arms of De Spencer, placed diagonally within a border; the arms of De Spencer occur also at Shrewsbury, Malvern, etc. Fig. 12 is likewise an heraldic tile, but of novel design, the shield—four bars, with a label of three points—being placed diagonally in the centre, and surrounded by a double circle, bearing the name REDLINGTON in Lombardic letters. Fig. 13 has also the shield placed diagonally. Fig. 14, bearing the cross pattée within a circle, is similar to one from Burton-on-Trent shown at the Derby Congress, and engraved in Mr. Jewitt's paper on the tiles there exhibited.³ Fig. 15 has the royal arms, with the label of three points (Prince Edward). It will be seen that this and the other heraldic tiles are so designed as to allow of their being placed in sets of four in the pavement, thus forming elegant quatrefoil patterns.—LL. J.

The church of Thurgarton (the tower of which belongs to the time of Henry III, whilst other portions are of Edward II) is situated close to the remains of the priory, and presents a large and magnificent structure. It is, however, much dilapidated, and now consists only of one aisle. It is still used for religious worship, and it gave great satisfaction to learn from Mr. Milward, that he had most liberally determined upon making restoration of this interesting edifice next summer; and that he was to be assisted in this object upon its completion by £250 from Trinity College, Cambridge, which holds the patronage of the curacy and eight hundred acres of land in the parish. The work has been entrusted to Mr. T. C. Hine, of Nottingham, architect, and it is proposed to erect a new chancel. The expense of the restoration will probably amount to little short of £2,000.

Behind the communion table there is a fine picture of the Virgin and Child, said to be, although we could not ascertain upon what authority, from the pencil of Raffaele, and reported to have been removed from the priory to the church, probably about a century since, at the time when Mr. Cooper, a former lord of the manor, barbarously levelled the ancient priory to the ground. The picture, we learn, was given to the church by Mr. Gilbert Cooper. Above the picture are the remains of an exceed-

¹ A similar tile was found at Leicester.—J. R. P.

² The butterfly is said to have been an ancient badge of the Audleys.—J. R. P.

³ In both instances the device is formed by four shields of the arms of Warren (?), disposed "en croix", so as to produce the appearance of a cross pattée between them.—J. R. P.

ingly elegant canopy, of the time of Edward II, which was once beautifully gilt and painted, and doubtless erected to surmount the figure of the patron saint. An ancient font and some oak carvings were also deserving of notice.

Sir Oswald Mosley having, on the part of the Association, returned thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Milward for their hospitable and elegant reception, the party proceeded to Nottingham, where they were joined by the duke of Newcastle, the earl of Lincoln, lord Clinton, etc., and then received by the mayor, William Felkin, esq., and corporation, at the Exchange Rooms. On the table were laid a variety of antiquities and ancient charters belonging to the corporation, for the inspection of the visitors. Upon taking the chair, the duke of Newcastle observed, that “before proceeding to the business of this day, which commences with a paper by Mr. Planché, I think it is only right that I should call your attention to the fact, that we are in this room by the kind permission and invitation of the mayor of this ancient town, and that I should on behalf of you all express our deep obligations to him for his kindness. Gentlemen, those of you who are strangers to this town,—and some of you, I believe, have not been here before,—on arriving to-day at the railway station, and passing through the meadows and observing the way in which the town is being extended, and the vast number of new erections which are rising up in all directions, may perhaps be disposed at first to doubt whether you are really in the *ancient* town of Nottingham. But, gentlemen, I can assure you that you are now in a town of very great antiquity. My worthy friend the mayor says he can trace the genealogy, not of his family, but of his mayoralty, to, I think, a period of five hundred and sixty years ago. For about five centuries this town has had the advantage of the government of a mayor, and it has likewise had the honour of returning two burgesses to parliament for a period of four hundred years, having been made a county of itself by an act of Henry VI. And, gentlemen, I think, though you are lovers of antiquity, and about to inspect those objects which remain of bygone years, you may, without any derogation of your importance, congratulate the mayor and inhabitants of Nottingham upon the great moral and social improvements which are now going on in this town. If you had leisure in the perambulation you are now about, to visit the great improvements which the mayor and corporation have effected in the external aspect of the town, I almost fear that archæology would itself become modernized. I will not detain you with any further remarks. I am sure you all feel deeply indebted to the mayor and corporation for the great accommodation of this room. We are now ready, I believe, to visit the few objects that remain of former times. The mayor recommends we should first visit a very curious cellar in the immediate neighbourhood, and I think from thence it would be proper and desirable for

us to proceed to the church of St. Mary, and from thence to the site of the ancient castle of Nottingham."

The mayor returned thanks on behalf of himself and the corporation of Nottingham, for the kind and handsome terms in which the noble duke had referred to the very plain and informal reception they had given to the members of the British Archæological Association. He added: "We feel a deep interest in the important inquiries in which you are engaged, because we believe that few things can be of more value than to contrast the present with the past state of things in respect to the physical and social condition of this or any other locality. I have no doubt it will be interesting to the members of the Association present to be informed that to-day, in anticipation of your coming to visit us, I was told I should receive shortly a requisition to make arrangements whereby an archæological society may be established in this town and neighbourhood, to prosecute similar researches to those in which you are now engaged, and to acquire such information of bygone times as may be interesting and useful. I shall have great pleasure in personally endeavouring to promote that object; and, I trust, that by another year you will have representatives from the Nottingham Archæological Society at your annual congress, and that we shall be able to give you a more becoming reception than on the present occasion."

The president then called on Mr. Planché to read his paper, "on the Family of the Peverels of Nottingham", for which, see pp. 194-208 *ante*.

At the conclusion of the paper, the party partook of refreshment kindly prepared by the corporation, the mayor pledging the duke of Newcastle and the Association from the "loving cup"; and thence proceeded to view the cellar alluded to by the noble duke and the mayor, which offers a good specimen of the underground condition of the city of Nottingham. This cellar is now used as a store wine-cellar by Mr. Crossland, and is situated in Bell-yard, nearly opposite the Exchange-rooms. It is a subterraneous passage, reaching from Bell-yard to Parliament-street, formed of a number of caves perforating the rock in every direction, but extending in length no less than one hundred and seventy-three yards, and being sixty feet beneath the level of the ground. The temperature of these caves is 56°, and it scarcely ever varies from that degree. It is almost unnecessary to observe, that a deep interest was felt by the Association in passing through these ancient places, which are justly esteemed as having been the habitations of the early Britons.

St. Mary's church next demanded attention; and, together with some ancient sculptures contained within it, will be described in a future number of the *Journal*.

The vestiges of the castle were next examined; the noble front, still standing amidst the ruins, exciting admiration and regret. Mortimer's Hole was explored by many, and the traces of the old wall surveyed.

The Association will be glad to hear that it is the intention of the duke of Newcastle, whose attention throughout the whole of the examination was highly appreciated, to make explorations, and examine into the foundations of this interesting edifice.

Time pressed, and it was necessary to depart for Newstead Abbey, where the Association were most kindly received by colonel and Mrs. Wildman in the library. The oak at the hostelry, called the Hut, did not fail to attract the attention of the visitors. Upon the arrival of the whole company, colonel Wildman conducted them over the building, and Mr. Ashpitel pointed out the architectural peculiarities and beauties of this renowned abbey. The chapel, in which many of his observations were made, was especially a matter of admiration; and having gone the round of the building, the particulars of which will be hereafter given, the party assembled in the large drawing-room to hear Mr. Pettigrew's paper on the abbey, which will appear, with illustrations, in the ensuing number of the *Journal*. Colonel Wildman then exhibited various charters and other documents relating to the abbey, and also displayed several interesting relics formerly belonging to lord George Gordon Byron, which could not fail of exciting a deep interest.

After partaking of an elegant repast in the large dining-room, formerly the dormitory of the monks, the duke of Newcastle returned the thanks of the Association to colonel and Mrs. Wildman, for their kind attention and liberal hospitality; to which the colonel responded, by expressing the sincere pleasure he had in entertaining the members, and professing his warm appreciation of the objects for which the Association was formed, after which the party returned to Newark, but arrived too late to hold the intended evening meeting at the Town Hall.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 18.

At an early hour, the Association proceeded by railway to Worksop, and made an examination of the abbey gate and the church, over which they were conducted by the duke of Newcastle and the rev. Mr. Appleton, both of whom were most familiar with the peculiarities of the building. With the exception of the ancient gateway, and a portion of the old priory church, there is little to demand the attention of the antiquary. The abbey gateway is still in good preservation, and possesses features of much interest. It is a fine specimen of the Gothic style of the fourteenth century, with apartments over it, covered with a pointed roof, and lighted by florid windows, and has niches of considerable beauty. The statues which stood on each side of the gateway are gone, but there still remain three over it. The gateway itself has a flat ceiling of oak, with Gothic groins and supporters. This now forms the floor of the room

above, which is used as a boys' national school. The carved heads, from which the arches of timber spring, are defaced and broken off, but the original timber is still sound. The gateway is double, with a wicket, and the whole even now is a pleasing specimen of ancient architectural skill, especially when viewed in connexion with the venerable cross, which stands in front, and consists of a lofty and conical flight of steps, surmounted by a slender pillar, which has long since lost its transverse capital. The church at Worksope will be considered in the next *Journal*.

The party, preceded by his grace the duke of Newcastle, then set forth for Clumber House, where they were magnificently entertained by the noble president. To antiquity the mansion has no pretension, but the absence of this is abundantly compensated for by elegance of structure, the taste displayed in its arrangements, the first-rate excellence of the paintings, and the splendour of the library, contained within it. The entire house, together with its extensive and beautiful gardens, were thrown open to the visitors, and on the tables were laid specimens of the most choice and illustrated manuscripts, and books printed upon vellum. The Lamoignon Missal (or rather Book of Offices, as Mr. Pettigrew pointed out, it should be termed), from Hafod, executed towards the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, justly excited much admiration. There was also a fine copy of the first edition of Shakespeare, with marginal notes, and most graciously selected out for Mr. Halliwell's inspection, and entrusted to him to assist in the edition of the works of our immortal bard, he is now preparing to publish in twenty volumes, folio! A most sumptuous dinner was served up in the grand dining-room; after which, the visitors wandered about the grounds, walked on the splendid terrace, in the Italian style, adorned with its most appropriate vases and figures, rowed on the lake, inspected the conservatories, gardens, aviaries, etc., until the bell rang to assemble for departure to Newark to attend the evening meeting,—all quitting charmed with the manners and liberality of the owner of such incomparable treasures.

At the evening meeting held at the Town Hall, his grace the president in the chair, a paper on the "Ancient Customs and Sports of Nottinghamshire", by Llewellynn Jewitt, esq., was read (see pp. 229-240 *ante*). To this succeeded another, on the "Early Burial-places discovered in the County of Notts", by Thomas Bateman, esq. (see pp. 183-192 *ante*); and an additional one, in reference to discoveries of urns and other objects of antiquity discovered at Newark in 1836, and referred to in Mr. Bateman's paper, by George Milner, esq., F.S.A., who also kindly exhibited the several articles found (see pp. 192-3 *ante*).

The meeting terminated by the reading of a paper on "Discoveries recently made at St. John's, Winchester", by F. J. Baigent, esq.,

accompanied by some most interesting tracings and illustrations, the whole of which are in preparation for publication in a future number of the *Journal*.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 19.

Much regret was felt by the Association this morning to learn that intelligence having been received of the unexpected demise of his grace the duke of Hamilton, K.G., etc., the congress would thereby necessarily be deprived of the honour of the further attendance of the president. It also obliged the treasurer immediately to depart for London; and under these circumstances, James Heywood, esq., M.P., one of the vice-presidents, and who so ably filled the office of president at the Lancaster and Manchester Congress in 1850, kindly undertook to carry on the proceedings in the absence of the noble duke, and J. R. Planché, esq., to perform the duties which had been allotted to Mr. Pettigrew.

A large party departed by rail at an early hour for Lincoln, where they were most kindly received by E. J. Wilson, esq., the mayor, and the corporation, at the Town Hall, which is over one of the old gates of the city, called the "Stonebow", whence they proceeded under the most able guidance of the mayor to inspect the antiquities of the town, and afterwards to inspect the cathedral, where, in the absence of the very rev. the dean, at this time in Scotland, they were graciously received by the venerable the archdeacon Bonney.

The mayor pointed out the places he deemed most worthy of a visit in the short space allotted by the Association to their examination of Lincoln, and Mr. Heywood conveyed to him the thanks of the members, and expressed the great gratification they felt in being guided in their researches by one whose antiquarian knowledge so well qualified him to direct them. The mayor responded, by expressing the great pleasure he had in forwarding the objects of such an Association, which he believed to exercise a most salutary influence in preserving from destruction ancient buildings, monuments, and other remains illustrative of their history.

Having then given a slight enumeration of the principal objects to be viewed, the party proceeded, under his guidance, on their way to the cathedral, first to inspect the Jew's house, so called, from its having been inhabited by a Jewess, who was hanged for clipping coin in the reign of Edward I, after which it was confiscated, and presented to the dean and chapter. There is a curious tradition connected with the Jews of Lincoln, which is still believed to be founded in fact. It relates to the death of a Christian child, named Sir Hugh, said to have been cruelly put to death by the Jews, who once mustered in great numbers in the city, and carried on a flourishing trade. This deed is reported

to have been committed on the 27th of August 1255; the child being only eleven years of age. The popular indignation rose to such a height, that the murder was avenged by the death of several Jews, who were more or less suspected of participation in the offence.¹

The house is a fine specimen of early Norman domestic architecture, of which the city furnishes two similar instances. It is composed partly of wood and partly of stone, and the architecture is decorated with quaint elaborate carving. Several of the mouldings resemble those of the west front of the cathedral; and from the arrangement of the interior, it would seem that in Norman houses the chief apartments were on the upper floor, the ground floor being without fire-places, almost destitute of light, and hardly habitable. One of the chambers has a fine arched fire-place, with a niche and a triangular bend.

Leaving the Jew's house, the party proceeded slowly up the "Strait", as it is appropriately termed, a steep and narrow gorge, the like of which does not exist, probably, save in the old town of Edinburgh. On arriving at the summit of the hill, the attention of all was at once attracted by the splendid cathedral, and its solemn awe-inspiring towers. The visitors were received at the western entrance of the cathedral by the ven. archdeacon Bonney, by whom they were conducted to the transept, where a paper, descriptive of the painted glass windows of the edifice, was read by Mr. C. O'Connor, of London, which will appear, with illustrations, in a future *Journal*. The party then proceeded to inspect the magnificent structure, a history of which, with explanatory descriptions of the architecture, was kindly given by Mr. Ashpitel. These will also appear in a future *Journal*, accompanied by illustrations.

While the visitors were at the cathedral, Mr. Planché directed attention to a small sculpture which he had observed in one of the circles composing the ornaments of the columns of the great west door, and the only one, so far as he had been able to discover, in which human figures were pourtrayed. The sculpture represented a lady in the dress of the period of Henry I, or William Rufus, delivering a grant or charter to a man with a purse or wallet, probably intended to represent a citizen. The female figure, he thought, was intended to represent one of the early countesses of Lincoln, who had been a benefactress to the cathedral.

Quitting the cathedral, the ruins of the Bishop's Palace were examined, and universally admired. They are on the south side of the hill, and from the remains which still exist, it must have been a building of great extent. The edifice was destroyed during the civil war, about the year 1644; but portions of it, including a fine stone gate-tower, the

¹ The rev. Dr. Hume has collected together all the published evidence relating to this case, and the ballads founded on the legend, in a tract published by J. R. Smith, Soho-square. It has already been noticed in the *Journal*, vol. v, p. 405.

grand hall, the kitchen, and a fine vaulted passage, are yet in a tolerably perfect state.

The well-known "Newport" gate, at the northern entrance to the city, was of course visited, as being perhaps the only perfect specimen of a Roman gateway, in the neighbourhood of which are also to be seen several portions of the old Roman wall. The castle was afterwards visited, as one of the strongholds established by William the Conqueror. The eastern gate, which opens upon the Castle Hill, at the west end of the Minster Yard, is almost entire, with the exception of the roof and battlements. The outer walls of the castle and of the keep or donjon, although only about half their original height, have suffered comparatively little from the hand of time. Within the enclosure of the castle walls, which comprise nearly seven acres of ground, assize courts and a county gaol have been erected.

On leaving the castle, the visitors divided, a number of the party proceeding to the residence of the archdeacon, who had kindly provided luncheon, while the remander, at the invitation of the mayor, repaired to the Town Hall, where they were entertained with great hospitality by his worship and the corporation. The visitors, having returned cordial votes of thanks to their munificent hosts, proceeded to inspect John O'Gaunt's house and stable, and a few other monuments of past days, in which the city abounds.

Returning to Newark, an evening meeting was held at the Town Hall, James Heywood, esq., M.P. and V.P., presiding. From indisposition, the rev. J. F. Dimock was unable to be present; and the president kindly undertook to read Mr. Dimock's paper, on the "History of the Collegiate Church of Southwell", which will be printed entire in the next number of the *Journal*.

Charles Wickes, esq., of Leicester, then read a paper on the "Churches of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire", and illustrated it with numerous drawings, which were much admired for their admirable execution. As these are in the course of publication, we forbear from any further notice of them; but earnestly direct the attention of the members of the Association to the appearance of Mr. Wickes's work.

W. D. Haggard, esq., F.S.A., read the following paper—

ON SIEGE PIECES STRUCK DURING THE CIVIL WARS.

"The coins which I have the pleasure, by the kindness of our respected associate, W. D. Cuff, esq., F.S.A., of placing before the Association for inspection, are of a very interesting character. They are siege pieces, 'or money of necessity', struck at various castles and strongholds during the Civil War, which held out for the cause of Charles I. In consequence of the troublous times in which these coins were struck, there is but little information to be obtained in regard to their individual

history, and it was at first my intention to notice only the coins of Newark; but I thought those of an earlier date, and struck at other places, would be worthy of your consideration.

"In the year 1642 (the earliest date of these coins) a proclamation was issued by the lords justices of the council in Dublin for bringing in plate to the Mint for coinage, as it was found to be of absolute necessity for the relief of the army, that all manner of persons dwelling in the city and suburbs of Dublin should, within ten days after the publication of the order, deliver half or more of their plate to W. Bladen, of Dublin, alderman, and John Pue, one of the sheriffs of the same city, taking their receipt thereof; and they did give the word and assurance of his majesty and state, that due satisfaction should be made after the rate of five shillings the ounce, of such plate as should be of true touch; and the true value of such plate as should not be of like touch. This proclamation was cheerfully complied with, and the plate was brought in and hastily coined into different denominations; some with the weight stamped on them in pennyweights and grains, and others marked with the value only.

"Siege pieces struck at Newark are more numerous than of any other place, and appear also to have been better executed. The silver on which these coins are struck, was generally derived from the family plate belonging to the nobility and gentry who were favourable to the cause of Charles I; I do not think any certain information can be procured of the persons who were so generous as to part with it for that purpose. This money was used for a temporary convenience during the siege, and was probably struck by order of the governor of the castle besieged; indeed, I have seen a paragraph, in which it is stated that siege pieces were struck by order of sir Thomas Glenham, when he held out Carlisle for Charles I. Some of the coins, which have on the obverse the crown and the letters C.R., and on the reverse the royal arms, most likely were struck by royal authority.

"The coins vary very much in weight, although of the same denomination, which might lead one to imagine that the silver plate was hammered out to a supposed proper thickness, then cut out to a certain size, and so was issued. Some siege pieces, indeed, according to Ruding, were executed in such haste that the plate appears to have been scarcely more than clipped off and stamped, as they retain a portion of the mouldings of the silver from which they were cut. Some are stamped with the castle of the places whence they proceeded.

"In 1645, sir Richard Willis was governor of Newark, and when Charles, who had fled across the country, arrived there, prince Rupert persuaded the king to dismiss him, which he did, and appointed the Lord Ballis in his stead. Charles was shortly obliged to make his escape from Newark, by reason of the near approach of Poyntz and Rossiter; this he

effected in the night, escorted by one hundred horsemen, and arrived at Belvoir castle without molestation. A writer of more than a century back, states :

"At Newark, one can hardly see, without regret, the ruins of that famous castle, which, through all the civil war in England, kept a strong garrison for the king to the last, and so cut off the greatest pass into the north that there is in the whole kingdom ; nor was it ever taken, till the king, pressed by the calamity of his affairs, put himself into the hands of the Scots' army, which lay before it, and then commanded the governor to deliver it up ; after which, it was demolished, that the great road might lie open and free ; and it remains in rubbish to this day.

"The castle was built here by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of king Stephen ; and the town took its name from that new work.¹

"This town was certainly raised from the neighbouring Roman cities, and has been walled about with their remains. The northern gate is composed of stones, seemingly of a Roman cut, and perhaps they had a town here, for many antiquities are found about it, here are two stone crosses. A gentleman digging to plant a tree by the fosse-road side, discovered four urns in a straight line and at equal distances, in one of which was a brass lar, or household god, an inch and a half long, but much corroded."

"According to Ruding, siege money is known to have been struck at the following places : Aberystwith, Carlisle, Chester, Colchester,² Cork, Dublin, Edinburgh, Exeter, London, Newark, Oxford, Pontefract, Scarborough, Shrewsbury, Worcester, York.

"The same authority states also that pieces were struck at various castles, whose names are unknown.

"The pieces now exhibited to the Association are from

"DUBLIN: a crown, weight 17 dwts. 21 grs. ; half-crown, 9 dwts. 12 grs.: called the Inchiquin money, 1642. Crown, weight 19 dwts. 5 grs. ; half-crown, 9 dwts. 9 grs. ; sixpence, 1 dwt. 20 grs. : called Ormond money, having been made current by a proclamation of the duke of Ormond, 1642.

"ENGLAND: a shilling, weight 3 dwts. 16 grs.: struck at Pontefract, when the castle was defended for the king in 1648. Doubtful value, weight 5 dwts. 5 grs. : struck at Colchester, 1648, said to be a two-shilling piece. Half crown, weight 9 dwts. 10 grs. : date 1645 : the year Charles I took refuge in the castle of Newark. Half crown, weight 9 dwts. 23 grs. ; one shilling, 3 dwts. 18 grs. ; ninepence, 3 dwts. ; sixpence, 1 dwt. 23 grs. : date, 1646 : Newark.

¹ "The castle of Leicester, before it was dismantled, was a prodigious building ; it was the court of the great Henry duke of Lancaster, who added to it twenty-six acres of ground, which he enclosed with a very strong wall of square stone 18 feet high, and called it his *novum opus*, vulgarly now the *Newark*."

² The castle is represented on these, and round it engraved *CAROLI FORTUNA RESURGAM*. These consist of thin plates of silver ; one is octagonal, another round. See Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Britain*, Plate xxix, Nos. 7 and 8.

"The Newark pieces are all of a lozenge-shape, and are of the same type, having on the obverse a crown, between the initials C.R., and the value inscribed beneath, all marked in Roman numerals, to show the number of pence they were to represent; and on the reverse, OBS. NEWARK, 1645 or 1646. See Ruding, Pl. 28, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10."

At this meeting, a large collection of rubbings from brasses were exhibited by the Architectural Society of Lincolnshire, by Mr. Moody, of Nottingham, and by Mr. Corner, of London; and the president took occasion to draw attention to the architectural societies of the archdeaconry of Northampton and Lincolnshire, established in 1844, for the promotion and restoration of interesting architectural remains, and the improvement of the character of ecclesiastical edifices to be erected in future. The rev. F. Pyndar Lowe presented to the Association two volumes of Reports, already published by these societies, now in conjunction with those of the county of York and the architectural and archæological societies of the county of Bedford and of St. Alban's.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20.

At ten o'clock the Association visited the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Newark, where they were received by the vicar, the rev. J. Bussell. In this church is the remarkable brass of Alan Fleming, one of the finest extant. It belongs to the class called "Flemish", and in character is similar to those of Topcliff, in Yorkshire, Lynn Regis, and St. Alban's. It may be remarked, that Flemish brasses are most frequently found in the ancient seats of our manufactures; and, without doubt, it is due to our connexion with Flanders, that these splendid specimens of the graver's art are to be found in this country. They are mostly, too, to the memory of civilians, opulent burgesses of our ancient commercial municipalities, and give a high idea of the wealth of the mercantile community, even as early as the fourteenth century. The brass of Alan Fleming assumes the appearance of a large oblong plate; it measures 9 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 5 inches, and nearly the whole of this large surface is covered with work. This plate, however, is composed of sixteen pieces of metal, each being about 2 feet 6 inches in length; and it is seldom that a larger sheet of metal is seen at this early period, when the modern application of power and machinery was unknown.

The deceased is represented in the civilian's habit of the time—a long tunic with strait sleeves, having lappets lined with fur, and a cape covering the shoulders. The hands are conjoined in prayer, and a scroll upon his breast has these words, "Miserere mei Domine Deus meus". At his feet is a lion seizing upon a hairy human figure; it is, perhaps, allegorical, "the roaring lion seeking whom he may devour". The figure is under a rich triple canopy, surmounted with tabernacle work,

containing representations of "Abraham's bosom", the soul of the deceased in a winding sheet; and on one side is a figure of St. Peter, who points significantly to the keys of heaven and hell, which he holds; the figure on the opposite side is not so clear, it is a female saint. The background of the effigy is disposed with those curious grotesque forms which are so frequently met with in the fourteenth century, and which resemble the gnostic emblems of an earlier age; above the head is a starry firmament. The shafts which support the canopy are of the richest description, and contain a double row of niches, with interesting figures of mourners in a very varied costume, forming a complete study in itself of the dress of the civilian in the latter part of the fourteenth century. In this respect, it can compare with that unrivalled brass of Robert Braunche, mayor of Lynn. The inscription is in sunk letters on the verge, and has a beautifully designed border on each side of it, the idea being a running plant, something like the briony, from which it was probably taken. It runs thus:—"✠ Hic jacet Alanus Fleming qui obiit anno MCCCXXXIII, in die St. Helene cujus anime in Dei misericordiam requiescat in pace. Amen. Credo quod redemptor meus vivit et in novissimo die de terrâ surrecturus sum et rursus circumdabor pelle meâ et in carne meâ videbo Deum salvatorem meum quem visurus sum ego ipse et oculi mei conspecturi sunt et non alius reposita est hæc spes mea in sinu meo." At each corner of this inscription are the symbols of the Evangelists, some much defaced, and in the middle, on each side in the mark or monogram of the deceased, the merchant's heraldry. This fine monument has been engraved in "Fowler's Specimens of Painted Glass"; but very loosely and incorrectly. The figure has since been published by Mr. Boutell; but at present it remains a matter of regret, that so many of our fine monuments of this class remain incorrectly published, while the feeble encouragement given to any other than cheap publications, will ever prevent such a work from being issued, as would supply the desired want. In this respect, the French set us an example; and it is shameful for us to witness their efforts in illustrating their national antiquities, and our apathy, when so wide a field is open before us.

From Newark church the party proceeded to inspect the ruins of Newark castle, under the guidance of Mr. Ashpitel and Mr. Charles Bailly. Papers illustrative of the church and castle will appear in the next number of the *Journal*. At one o'clock, the larger proportion of the members left Newark by special-train for Southwell. At the minster they were received by the venerable archdeacon Wilkins, the rev. J. M. Wilkins, rector of Southwell, the rev. J. F. Dimock, minor canon, and Mr. Barrow, M.P. After a long and minute inspection of this magnificent structure and its beautiful chapter-house, under the guidance of Mr. Ashpitel and Mr. Dimock (an erudite paper on the subject by the

latter gentleman having been read on the preceding evening at Newark), the Association was most hospitably entertained by the archdeacon and Mr. Barrow, and the members were afterwards engaged in viewing the remains of the bishop's palace adjoining the minster. At four o'clock the Association returned to Newark, but in the meantime a small party visited the church of All Saints, Hawton, which offers one of the finest examples of remains of medieval church architecture in the county. The church comprises a decorated chancel, three bays in length, a nave, with clerestory and aisles, and a lofty perpendicular tower, which, according to Mr. Place (who, under the sanction of the Cambridge Camden Society, in 1845, published some plans, sections, and elevations of the chancel), contains portions of the early decorated and perpendicular English styles engrafted curiously into each other. The stone of which the church is built, both for the exterior and the ornamental work of the interior, was obtained from the ancient quarries of Ancaster. The sedilia are particularly worthy of observation; they occupy the wall between the central and eastern windows, and consist of three seats of magnificent structure. The north-wall sepulchre is also very fine, being of a rich design. The sculptures represent the resurrection and ascension of the Saviour. These are given in three series, the first comprising the four soldiers set to watch the burial-place; then the resurrection of the Christ, with the three Maries with alabaster in their hands, and two angels, beautifully and delicately executed; the third is the ascension, in which the head and body of the Saviour is lost in the heavens, the legs and feet only being represented. The twelve apostles are divided into four groups. St. Peter is to be distinguished by his keys: they are much mutilated, and the faces are entirely gone. The guards of the tomb have helmets and portions of chain mail. Their shields are curious, bearing dragons and heads in profile. The stone is now unfortunately very soft in its texture, and the sepulchre is much injured. The founder's tomb is rich and beautiful. His effigy, which is unfortunately broken into three pieces, is clothed in chain mail, and his hands are upraised in prayer. His legs are crossed, and rest upon a lion. At the back of the tomb there is a hagnoscope.

At six in the evening the public dinner took place at the Town Hall, under the presidency of James Heywood, esq., M.P., in consequence of the regretted absence of his grace the duke of Newcastle. The chairman was supported by the venerable archdeacon Wilkins, Mr. W. H. Barrow, M.P., Mr. G. E. Harcourt Vernon, M.P., the mayor of Newark, the vicar of Newark, Mr. Milward, of Thurgarton, etc.

After the usual loyal toasts, the chairman proposed the healths of the right rev. the bishop of Lincoln and the clergy of the diocese, which was responded to by the archdeacon of Notts.

The next health was that of the earl of Scarborough, lord-licutenant

of the county, who, the chairman stated, had most kindly invited the Association to visit him at Rufford abbey.

The toast of the "navy and army" was acknowledged by rear-admiral sir H. Dillon, K.C.H.

The chairman then proposed, "the duke of Newcastle and prosperity to the British Archæological Association".

Mr. Planché, in the absence of Mr. Pettigrew, made a few observations on the objects and prospects of the Association.

The toast of "the members for the county" was acknowledged by Mr. W. H. Barrow, M.P.; and that of "the members for the borough", by Mr. G. E. Harcourt Vernon, M.P.

"The mayor and corporation of Newark" was next given, and responded to by his worship the mayor, who proposed the health of the chairman.

Mr. Heywood returned thanks, and proposed the health of "the vicar of Newark", which was gracefully acknowledged by the rev. gentleman.

The health of "the vice-presidents and officers of the Association", of "the noblemen and gentlemen who had received and entertained the Association", coupled with the name of "Mr. Milward, of Thurgarton". "The local committee", "the Society of Antiquaries and other kindred institutions", "the Royal Academy", coupled with the name of "Mr. David Roberts, R.A.", "the Lincolnshire Architectural Society", and "the ladies", followed in due order, and were responded to by Mr. Oliveira, M.P., sir Fortunatus Dwaris, Mr. Milward, the rev. Mr. Hodgkinson, of Newark, Dr. Lee, Mr. David Roberts, Mr. Gould, and Mr. Osborne Bateman, and the party separated about ten o'clock.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 21.

This morning the members and visitors were entertained at breakfast by the mayor and corporation of Newark, at the Town Hall, the mayor presiding.

At the end of the entertainment the closing meeting of the Congress took place, and votes of thanks were passed to the lord-lieutenant of the county, the duke of Newcastle, the members for the county and the borough, the local committee, the mayors and corporations of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Newark, the archdeacon and clergy of the district, the noblemen and gentlemen who had entertained the Association, the Lincolnshire Architectural Society, and the gentlemen of the London and provincial press, who had attended the Congress and faithfully reported the proceedings.

A paper was subsequently read by Mr. W. D. Saull, on an ancient Roman road near Winchester. Several papers were deferred for want of time, but will be read before the public meetings of the Association in November and December.

The business of the Association then terminated, and about twelve o'clock nearly a hundred ladies and gentlemen left Newark for Rufford abbey, the seat of the right hon. the earl of Scarborough.

His lordship, accompanied by the hon. Mrs. Saville Lumley and several other members of his family, received his visitors on the steps of the terrace, and conducted them through the ancient crypt of the abbey (an exceedingly fine specimen, now forming a noble servants'-hall), and the private chapel, containing some remains of the original structure. The company afterwards wandered for an hour in the grounds of the abbey and by the side of the noble sheet of water in the park, and were summoned by the dinner-bell, at three o'clock, to a sumptuous collation in the great hall, where they were joined by the earl and countess of Belhaven, Mr. Evelyn and lady Charlotte Denison, colonel and Mrs. Wildman, etc.

During the repast, a band of music executed several appropriate airs in the gallery, and, at the termination of it, his lordship's fine pack of hounds were brought upon the lawn in front of the windows by the huntsmen in full costume, for the gratification of the company. The health of the earl of Scarborough was given by Mr. Heywood, and acknowledged by his lordship in terms highly flattering to the Association. Mr. Heywood also proposed the health of J. E. Denison, esq., M.P., which was acknowledged in an eloquent speech by that gentleman.

About four o'clock the party reassembled on the terrace, and took leave of their noble entertainer, and thus terminated one of the most successful and agreeable Congresses ever held by the British Archæological Association.

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ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED MARY THE VIRGIN, OF SOUTHWELL.

BY THE REV. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., MINOR CANON OF SOUTHWELL.

THERE are but few and meagre materials in existence, for the history of the fabric of Southwell church. In the published works of our ancient historians, little, or rather nothing, directly to our purpose is to be found. Archæological writers of more modern times, Leland, Camden, Dugdale, and the historian of our county, Thoroton,—all these equally fail us: and a still later writer, Mr. Rastall, —who, seventy years since, devoted a quarto volume to the history of Southwell, which some twenty years afterwards reappeared in a second edition, under the name of Dickenson,—will do far more towards misleading us, at any rate as regards the structural history of the church, than towards giving us any true information. The manuscript records of the church, which once no doubt would have given us full information, have on two occasions suffered from the ravages of the spoiler,—in the reign of Edward VI, and again in the century following, in the great rebellion. Certain of these ancient records, however, have escaped destruction: in these is to be found much interesting antiquarian lore regarding the general fortunes of the church as a collegiate establishment, but all direct history of the fabric has disappeared. From these records, still preserved at Southwell, the greater part of my materials,

nevertheless, will have to be derived: the record rooms of York Cathedral have furnished me with one or two other valuable documents: but, in the absence of all direct continuous history, it is only from a few indirect notices, a few unconnected and distant fragments, that the historical portion of the following paper has been put together.

EARLY HISTORY, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH
TO A.D. 1100.

No portion of the existing fabric of Southwell church, except perhaps mere fragments worked up in a later reconstruction, can claim to be older than the twelfth century. I shall, however, commence by referring to one or two of the few remaining historical notices which relate to earlier periods. Before we attempt to trace the history of the existing church, it is but natural to enquire whether any predecessor occupied its site, and to whom we have to attribute the first foundation of a christian sanctuary, which, from small beginnings, perhaps, and after many reconstructions, at length resulted in the glorious building now before our eyes.

We learn from Camden,¹ who wrote before the second spoliation of the records in the days of Cromwell, that in his time there were private histories of the church in existence, which claimed for the founder, St. Paulinus, one of the companion apostles of St. Augustine, the first Archbishop of York, the founder as well of the churches of York and Lincoln. Now Venerable Bede² tells us that St. Paulinus, after his successful missionary labours in the more northern parts of England, preached the word also, about A.D. 630, to the province of Lindsey, south of the Humber. And he gives an interesting account of a vast

¹ "Hinc clementi alveo præterit Trenta non procul a Southwell, collegiata Præbendariorum ecclesia B. Mariæ sacra, non splendida illa quidem, sed firma, opulenta, antiqua, et celebri; quam Paulinum primum archiepiscopum Eboracensem fundasse scribunt, cum hujus agri incolas in Trenta flumine sacro baptisinate Christo regeneraret Hanc civitatem esse quam Beda Tiovulfingacester vocat firmitus credo, quod quæ ille de Paulino baptizante in Trenta juxta Tiovulfingacester retulerit, hoc in loco facta fuisse privata hujus ecclesiæ historia constanter affirmarit."—From the first Edition of Camden's *Britannia*, London, 1586. It was necessary to the argument of a subsequent page, to give the words of the first edition: the only alteration, as regards Southwell, in after editions, was the omission of the epithet "opulenta" from the description of the church.

² Bede's *Ecc. History*, ii, 16.

crowd of the inhabitants of that province having been baptized by St. Paulinus, in the presence of king Edwin, in the river Trent, near a city called in the English tongue, Tiovulfingacester. No doubt it was in the course of this missionary expedition that Paulinus, extending his labours beyond Lindsey up the valley of the Trent, fixed upon Southwell for the site of a christian temple, as related according to Camden in the now lost histories.

Camden, indeed, supposed that Southwell was the same place as the Tiovulfingacester of Bede. This supposition, it seems to me, has no ground to rest upon. The Southwell history said that St. Paulinus baptized the people of Nottinghamshire in the Trent, and founded the church of Southwell: Bede had said that he baptized the people of Lindsey in the Trent near Tiovulfingacester. It would surely be no safe logic hence to conclude, that Tiovulfingacester and Southwell are one, even were there in the case no discordant circumstances. But as it happens that Southwell is three miles distant from the Trent, and some twenty miles from the nearest point of Lindsey, I conceive these to be facts not to be reconciled with the statement of Bede;¹ and I fear we must not appeal to his venerable authority, when we claim St. Paulinus as the founder of the church. We do make the claim, nevertheless, though with less full satisfaction, no doubt, than if we had the additional authority of Bede. That St. Paulinus was the founder, rests upon no supposition of Camden, but upon the statements of then existing histories cited by him.

There is some ground for concluding that a church had existed at Southwell before the time of St. Paulinus. Amongst the existing records is a manuscript of much interest, bearing the title of—"Simposion, contayning a dialogue touching the state of the church of Southwell." It was written in the year 1604 or '5, by a prebendary of the church evidently well versed in its history: most of its statements can be verified from other sources of undoubted authority. In this MS. the following passage occurs;—"If I fetch the antiquity of the church no further than that learned godly antiquary Mr. Cambden hath done, *although it come far short*, yet it may easily thereby appear,

¹ Dr. Stukeley's opinion that Torksey was the Tiovulfingacester of Bede, seems to have much more likelihood of truth.—Gough's *Camden*, ii. 252.

as otherwise, that there was, many hundred years past, a collegiate and parochial church at Southwell". This passage seems to assert plainly enough, that the then existing histories gave an earlier date to the foundation of the church than that assigned to it by Camden, and therefore it may be that the foundation of St. Paulinus was a re-establishment of an ancient British church, which had fallen before the paganism of the Saxon invaders, rather than an entirely new creation. I may add that a town existed on the present site in the earlier days of British christianity, as is proved by various Roman remains that have at different times been discovered about the place. In the foundations, moreover, of the present church, and in the rubble work of its walls, fragments of Roman brick are constantly to be met with; fragments these, it may be, of an ancient British church, built during the Roman occupation of the island, which have again and again been worked up in the various subsequent reconstructions of the fabric.

Of the general fortunes of the church thus founded by St. Paulinus, but few and scanty records remain, until after the period of the Norman conquest. There is one historical notice, however, worth mentioning; as it seems to convey some intimation of the church having been rebuilt, or of an addition having been made to it. We are told by Thomas Stubbs, the ancient biographer of the archbishops of York, that archbishop Kinsius, who occupied the see from 1050 to 1060, "added to the church of St. John at Beverley a lofty stone tower, in which he placed two magnificent bells; and in like manner, to the other churches of his archbishoprick beyond the Humber, namely at Southwell and Stow, he gave bells of the same magnitude and sound."¹ Now it is matter of history,² that

¹ "Kinsius archiepiscopus ad ecclesiam sancti Johannis apud Beverlacum turrim excelsam lapideam adjecit, et in ea duo præcipua signa posuit. Similiter et in cæteris ecclesiis archiepiscopatus sui quæ sunt trans Humbram, scilicet apud Southwelham et apud Stou, signa ejusdem magnitudinis et soni contulit." — Thomas Stubbs; in *Twysden's X Scriptores*, p. 1700.

Godwin, without giving his authority, attributes these benefactions to Abp. Alfric Puttoc, the predecessor of Kinsius, A.D. 1023-1050. He passes over in silence the above statement of Stubbs, but says that an anonymous MS. attributes to Kinsius many benefactions of Alfric. He says, however, that Kinsius built nearly the whole of the church at Beverley.—Godwin, *De Præsulibus*, p. 661.

² See *Florence of Worcester*, and *Henry of Huntingdon*, under the year 1057.

just at this time the church of Stow had been rebuilt; and as the bells for Beverley were destined for a tower which Kinsius had himself erected there, therefore probably a new church, in which the archbishop's gift was to be placed, or at any rate a new tower, had also recently been built at Southwell.

This, perhaps, may be thought to receive some confirmation from another fact mentioned by Stubbs. He relates of archbishop Aldred, the successor of Kinsius, who held the see from 1061 to 1069, that "of certain lands purchased at his own cost, he formed prebends at Southwell, and built refectories, wherein the canons might in common take their meals, one at York, and another at Southwell."¹ We may suppose that, the church being now re-edified and complete in all its parts, archbishop Aldred therefore bestowed his bounty upon increasing the number of prebends, and improving the domestic buildings of the collegiate establishment.

There appears, therefore, to be some reason for supposing that the church was rebuilt or added to, about the middle of the eleventh century. And to this date, perhaps, belong a number of fragments of capitals, mouldings, etc., which have been found, during recent repairs, some in the foundation of the south wall of the nave, others worked up in the piers of the central tower. They tell of a church, rudely indeed, but fully as much ornamented in its way, as the subsequent Norman structure in which they were entombed. Independently of their historical value, they are interesting in an architectural point of view, as comprising forms which are generally considered to be characteristic of even the later Norman. Supposing that the present nave and transepts were erected in the first half of the twelfth century, these fragments must have belonged to a building erected at the latest before the end of the eleventh century. But several of them have every appearance of having been subjected to the action of the atmosphere, for ages before the church of which they were

¹ "Terras multas de suo proprio emit, et eas ecclesiæ suæ adjecit; et de quibusdam prebendas apud Suthwell fecit; et refectoria ubi canonici simul vescerentur, unum Eboraci alterum Suthwellæ statuit."—Thomas Stubbs, p. 1704.

This statement of Stubbs furnishes the earliest notice I have met with of a collegiate body of canons at Southwell. As to what was the original constitution of St. Paulinus' foundation, there is no evidence.

a part was destroyed, and themselves were made use of in the later building. I cannot help fancying it possible, that some of these fragments may have belonged to a church, not only of the middle of the eleventh century, but of even a far earlier date. I may add, that there can be no doubt of their being earlier than the Norman work in which they were imbedded: they are not, as has been suggested, mere wasters from the stones preparing for this latter work: the capitals have very evident remains of colouring; and however close an identity there may be in some instances in character, the execution of these mouldings is much rougher, and the section perfectly distinct from that of similar mouldings in the present Norman portions of the church.

Figures of some of these fragments are given in plate 32. Figs. 1, 2, and 3, are parts of small capitals, remarkable for the small horizontal projection they can have presented above their shafts. In this respect they are of very different character from capitals of like size in the present Norman structure. Figs. 4 and 5 are fragments of larger capitals, which seem to have belonged to shafts set against a wall or pier. Fig. 4 must have belonged to a semi-circular shaft so placed. Fig. 6 has the double billet: it was a voussoir of, probably, the hood of some arch of considerable span. The double billet is a prevalent hood-moulding in the present nave and transept. But the section given by this voussoir, *a*, is very different from that of the later work, *b*. Fig. 7 was one of the stones of a string-course, or other horizontal moulding. The upper and lower edges are slightly chamfered: the lozenges but little raised from the face. This stone is about 8 in. in depth. There is no such moulding about the present church. Fig. 8 presents a single zig-zag, with a vertical projection of more than two inches from the face of the stone. Fig. 9 has also a single zig-zag, consisting of a convex sunk shallowly in the face of the stone. These are curious instances of early zig-zag. Fig. 10 is a voussoir of an arch of about 3 ft. 2 in. span. Proceeding from a square fillet in the upper part is a large triangular tongue, overlapping a large roll. The face of the tongue is beaded, between channels near the edges. The upper curve of this stone has a span of about 14 in.: the roll is of about



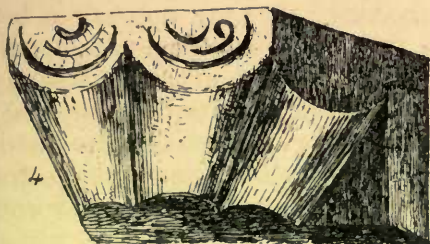
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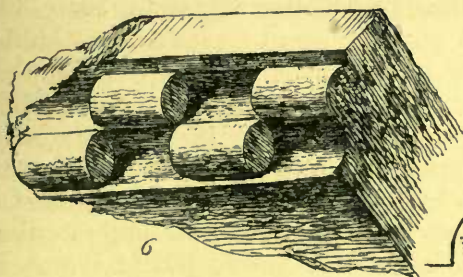
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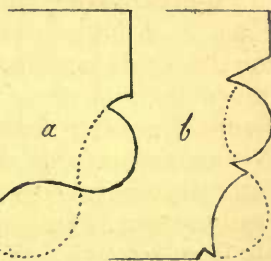
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5



6

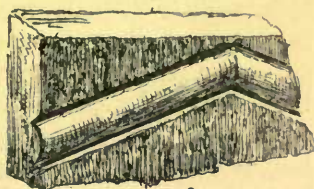


a

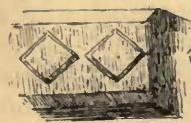
b



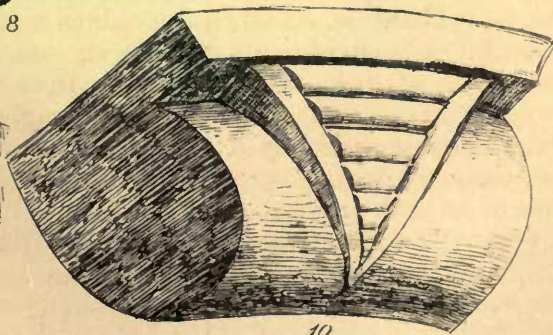
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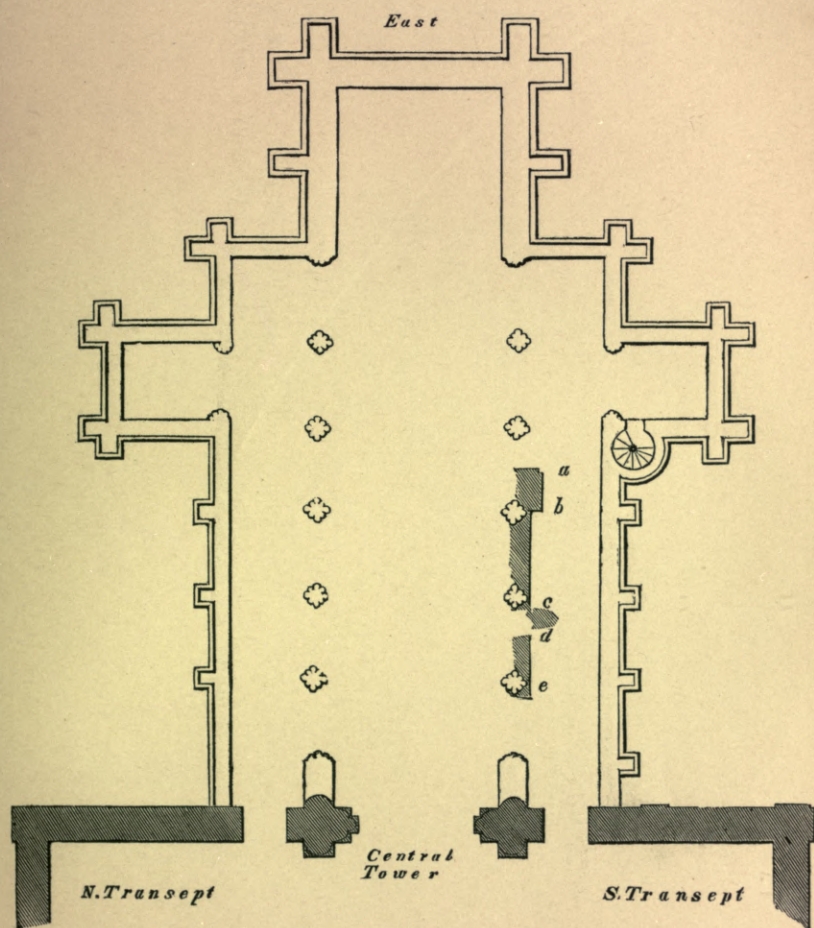
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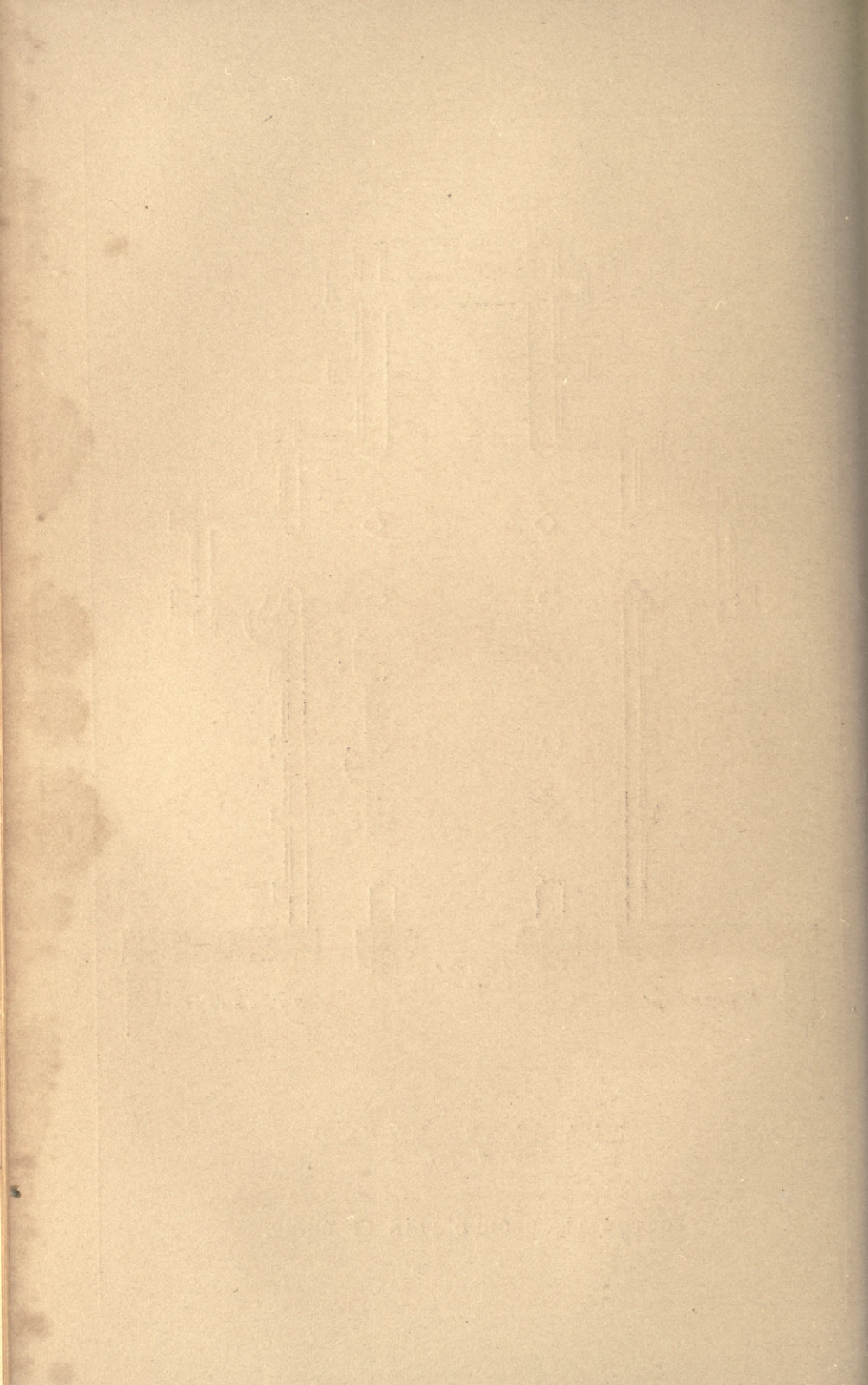
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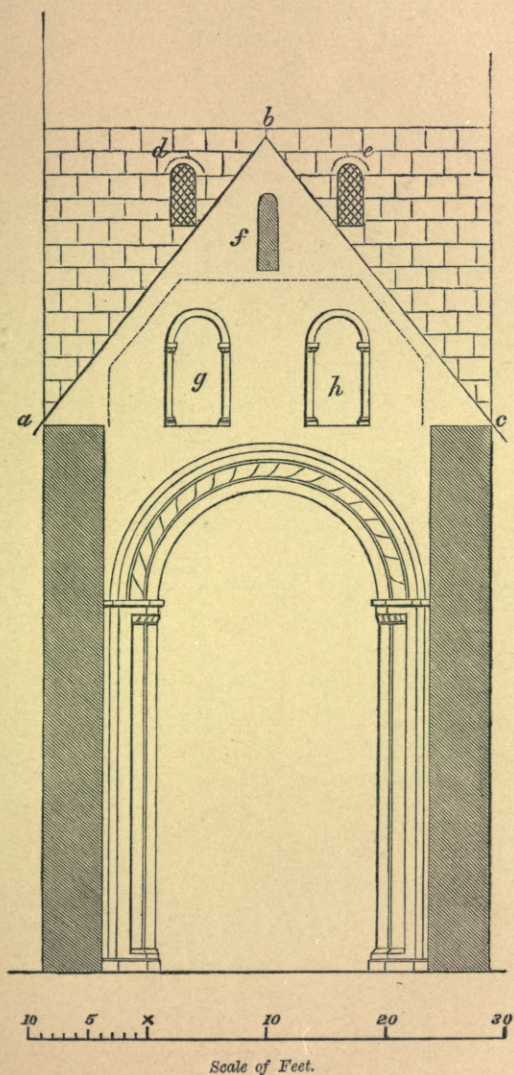


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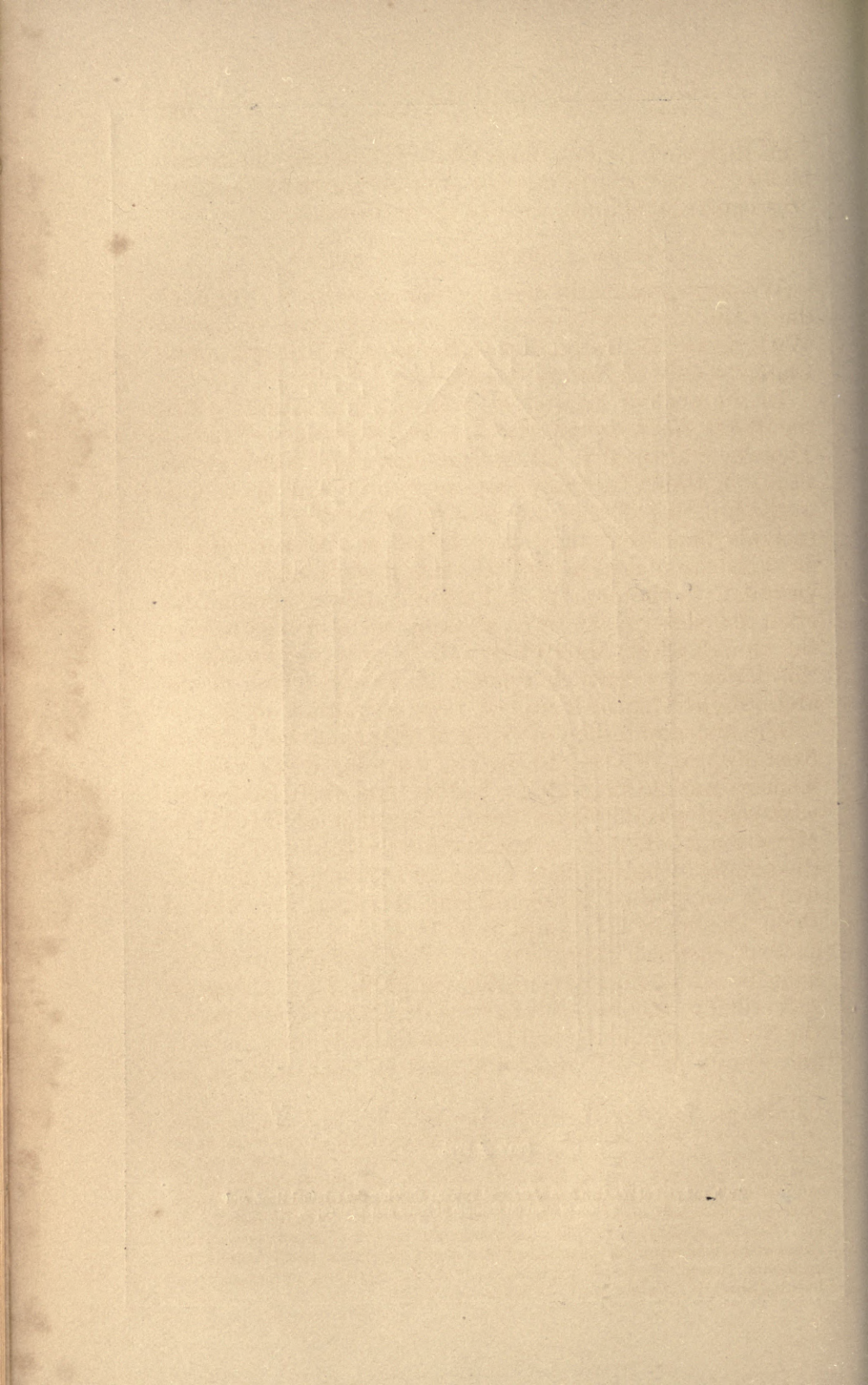


SOUTHWELL.—GROUND PLAN OF CHOIR.





Arch and part of Western face of Central Tower: showing the original Roof, and probable form of original Ceiling, of Nave and Transepts.



7 in. in diameter. It is unnecessary to point out the resemblance which this stone presents to the later Norman ornamental mouldings, such as the beak-head.

THE NORMAN CHURCH, TEMP. HENRY I.

We now proceed to the existing church: and first, to the earliest portion of it, the Norman nave and transepts. With regard to this portion of the church, I have but one fragment only of history to produce.

In the ancient register of Southwell, commonly called the *White Book*, is preserved a letter of an archbishop Thomas, addressed to all his parishioners of Nottinghamshire: in which he prays them to "assist with their alms to the building of the church of St. Mary of Suwell," and reminds them that they are "bound the more readily to do this, inasmuch as he was releasing them from the annual visitation to the church of York, incumbent upon all his other parishioners, and was allowing them instead to visit the church of St. Mary of Suwell."¹ There is no date to this letter: we must determine, if we can, which of the archbishops Thomas it was who was the author of it.

The first archbishop of York of this name held the see from the year 1070 to 1100: there was a second archbishop Thomas from 1109 to 1114: besides these there is no other who could possibly have been the author of this letter. Many years before there was another archbishop Thomas; the annual visitation, here spoken of as being just allowed, was an established custom of long standing: in a bull of Pope Alexander III, issued in 1171, it is spoken of as an ancient custom: there was no other archbishop of the name before Thomas de Corbridge in 1299. Now Thomas I. succeeded to the see just after the desolating vengeance of the Norman conqueror had fallen so fearfully upon the city and county of York: he found most of the canons of his

¹ "Thomas Dei gratia, &c., omnibus parochianis suis de Nottingham seira salutem et Dei benedictionem. Precamur vos sicut filios carissimos ut in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum adjuvetis de beneficio elemosinæ vestræ ad faciendam ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Suwella. Et quicumque ibi vel de minimo auxilium fecerit, erit usque in finem hujus seculi particeps omnium orationum et beneficiorum quæ fient in ea et in omnibus ecclesiis nostris. Et hoc libentius debetis facere quo vobis relaxamus ne vos oporteat per singulos annos visitare Eborum ecclesiam, sicut omnes alii parochiani nostri faciunt, sed ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ de Suwella, cum ibi habetis idem pardonum quod habetis Eborum. Valet, &c."—*White Book*, p. 124.

cathedral church driven away, their domestic buildings and the church itself in ruins. He had, in fact, almost to refund and reconstruct the entire cathedral establishment. He recalled the dispersed canons, and added to their number: and besides other costly necessary restorations of building, he is said to have rebuilt the whole church of York from the very foundations. There all his best exertions were imperatively demanded, and were given: and his name is never once mentioned as in any way a benefactor to the church of Southwell.

On the other hand, archbishop Thomas II was a great benefactor. Probably he founded two additional prebends: at any rate he was the donor of certain lands: and, what is more to our purpose, we learn from Thomas Stubbs, that he "procured from king Henry I, for the prebends of Southwell, the same liberties as those enjoyed by the prebends of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid of Ripon; and, so far as to him pertained, granted to them to be free and quiet from all episcopal custom and exaction in churches and lands."¹ I gather from this statement that it was this archbishop who first conferred on the church of Southwell the full privileges ordinarily appertaining to a mother church: this he must have done, when he placed the church on the same footing as that held by the above three churches.² Now, amongst such privileges of a mother church, one was an annual visitation from all the parishes of a certain district assigned to it.³ Therefore, I conclude, it was in all probability this

¹ Thomas 2nd "prebendis sanctæ Mariæ de Southwella eandem libertatem a rege Henrico primo optinuit, quam S. Petri Eboraci et S. Johannis Beverlaci et S. Wilfridi de Rypona præbendæ habent. Et quod ad ipsum pertinebat, ab omni episcopali consuetudine et exactione in ecclesiis et terris liberas esse et quietas concessit et confirmavit."—Thomas Stubbs; in *Twysden's X Scriptores*, p. 1713.

² From this time, if not previously, these churches ranked as the four mother churches of the diocese of York. In the ancient Bidding Prayer, according to the York use, was a special supplication for "all the brether and sistirs of our moder kirke saynt Petyr house of York, saynt John house of Beverlay, saynt Wilfride of Rypon, and saynt Mary of Suthwell." Drake's *York, Appendix*, p. lxxxvii. In the certificate of the commissioners, 37th H. 8th, the collegiate church of Suthwell is said to be "reputed and taken as the head mother church of the town and countie of Nottingham."—*Southwell Reg.*, No. 2. p. 61.

³ Thus Thorn, in his chronicles, speaking of the Pentecostal procession at Canterbury, says, "that the clergy and people made a publick and solemn procession, with their oblations and other devotions, according to the custom observed in the mother churches throughout the kingdom."—*Twysden's X Scriptores*, p. 1985.

archbishop Thomas who first ordained the annual visitation at Southwell from the county of Nottingham: and by him, therefore, I suppose the above letter to have been issued, inasmuch as the writer expressly states that he was granting this privilege to the county.

Thomas II, as I said, was archbishop from 1109 to 1114: at which time, therefore, I conclude from the above letter, a new church was in building at Southwell. Now the Norman nave and transepts of the present church bear the character of buildings known to have been erected about this time: and there is, I think, little reason for doubting that they form a portion of the church, for which the contributions of the good people of Nottinghamshire were thus solicited. Whether this church was only being commenced, when the archbishop issued this letter, or whether the object of the letter was to forward a building already in progress, is altogether uncertain. If begun at all before his pontificate, it probably had not been begun long before; and we may be sure that many years would elapse, before so large a building would arrive at completion. But we have no further remnant of history connected with it.

There is abundant structural evidence that there was once a complete Norman church, of uniform character throughout: the choir of which must have been removed, within little more than a century after its erection, to make way for the present more magnificent Early English choir. In plate 33 is a ground-plan of the present choir, showing its junction with the Norman central tower and transepts, and showing also so much of the remaining foundations of the previous Norman choir, as the present superincumbent galleries and side-stalls allow us to determine. On the north and south of the tower-piers, as shown in the plan, are arch-ways opening from the transept,—now built up, with doors inserted,—exactly similar to the arches opening on the opposite side of the transepts into the nave aisles. The triforium and clerestory compartments above these arches are also exactly similar on both sides of the transepts. Moreover it will be seen that on the choir side of the tower-piers, partly hidden by the later abutment for the Early English choir arcade, are engaged semicylindrical columns: on the capitals of these columns there remain some two or three feet of the spring-

ing of the circular Norman arch, imbedded in the Early English structure: and above this, again, is left the commencement of the hatched string-course that ran under the Norman triforium. And all this Norman remnant is identical with the corresponding details of the nave; except that the space between the capital of the column and the string-course beneath the triforium is far less than in the nave: here it is only 6ft. 6in., whilst in the nave it is 8ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; the capital being by so much on a higher level, while the string-course is on the same level as in the nave; from all which I conclude, that the Norman choir was of the same date and character as the present nave and transepts; that it had north and south aisles; but that the arches of the arcade were of much less span than in the nave: in the nave the span of the arches is about 13ft., whilst in the choir it could only have been about 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Probably also the floor of the choir was raised about 2ft. above that of the nave, and of its own aisles: the bases, however, of the tower-piers being covered on the choir side, this cannot be certainly determined.

But now let us go to the foundations of the eastern part of the Norman choir, which I had the satisfaction of discovering some few months since. These are shown between *a* and *e* on the plan. For some few feet at the east end, and from *a* to *c*, there remains a basement moulding,—a small plain slope exactly like that round the outside of the nave and transept,—with one course of ashlar upon it through most of its length: beneath the bases of the two Early English pillars, are also two or three stones of the second course of ashlar, the bottoms of these bases being about 20in. above the level of this Norman basement moulding. At the corner *a* is a rectangular nook of about 9in. in depth, exactly the same as is formed at the external corners of the transepts and of the western towers by the projections of the Norman buttresses. There can be no doubt, therefore, but that this was an external basement; and that, as in the present choir so in the Norman one, the aisles did not extend the whole length. Between *a* and *b*, therefore, was a buttress, and this is of much the same width as the buttresses in corresponding places of the nave and transepts. But at *b*, instead of a projection of only 9in. from the line of the wall, there is a projection

of nearly 18in. ; just the projection of the western towers, independently of their buttresses, from the aisle walls. Hence I conclude that the east end of the choir was flanked by corner turrets,—an arrangement that has also a parallel in the far-projecting corner buttresses, with their surmounting pinnacles, at the east end of the present choir; had there not been such an arrangement, no greater thickness of wall would have been required, and this corner of the Norman choir would have presented the same ground-plan as the corner of the south transept shown in the plate. Enough of the basement is to be seen extending northwards from *a*, to show that the east end of the choir was square: this was the plan of the Norman choirs of York and Ripon; was it not the general plan in the diocese of York?

Proceeding westward from *b*, I traced the basement in an unbroken line as far as *c*. Here it ceases, and the last stone of the plinth has not a square termination, but is bevilled off as if there had here been a change of direction in the wall. Between *c* and *d*, moreover, is solid rubble work, as if of a foundation, extending some two feet into the aisle; how much farther cannot be ascertained. Now as it is certain that the Norman choir had aisles, here I concluded I had found the foundation of the east end of the south aisle. But now comes the difficulty. Passing over the rubble work, I found from *d* to *e* (I could examine no further), what to all appearance is a continuation of the same external basement as before. There is, indeed, a slight difference of level, it being about an inch higher at *d* than at *c*: but this is no proof of non-identity: as great a difference of level, in what professed to be a horizontal line, might often be found in ancient work within the same distance. What then is the solution of this puzzle? For want of a better, I can only suppose, either that there was a change of plan, after the foundations had been laid of a choir without aisles, or, and this seems to me on the whole the more probable, that, without any such change of plan, at *c* after all was the east end of the aisle, and that the plinth from *d* to *e* formed the basement of a low wall, which, according to an usual arrangement, carried the screen dividing the body of the choir from its aisles. And even without such a

screen of division, if, as in all probability was the case, the floor of the choir was higher by some two feet than that of its aisles, a line of low walling, of which this might be the basement, would be required on the aisle side. It is worth observing, that in the nave aisles a similar basement moulding is carried from the west wall of the transepts round the responds of the first nave arches.

There originally belonged also, it would appear, to the Norman church, an eastern apse or chapel, adjoining each transept: the large semicircular arch opening into the chapel still remaining, though walled up, in each transept wall. In the walling up of this arch in the south transept is inserted what has now the appearance of a blocked doorway; but which,—inasmuch as, in every detail of jamb and arch, it is identical with the lower windows externally of the transepts, and the one remaining original window of the nave aisles, and with no other original Norman member,—was, I therefore conclude, originally a window of the chapel into which this arch once opened. It is, indeed, of smaller dimensions than the similar windows of the transepts and nave; but this would naturally be the case in the smaller adjunct of the transept. When the chapel was taken down, the arch of communication with the transept would have to be built up, and the materials, ready at hand, of the demolished chapel, would naturally be used for the purpose. I may add, that the arch-moulding of this window, or whatever it was, and still more the string-course which is continued from the abacus of the jamb-shaft capital, must have belonged to a straight wall: proving, probably, that the chapel was not, as is often the case in such situations, a semicircular apse, but either rectangular in plan like the east end of the Norman choir, or polygonal. Proceeding to the outside of the transept, we may observe, a foot or two above the crown of the large arch, a horizontal weather-moulding, which was connected, I suppose, with the roof of the chapel. But now comes another difficulty. On each side of this arch the transept wall presents, apparently, the original Norman ashlaring undisturbed; and no trace is to be seen of any after patching up of the disturbance which would be caused by the removal of the side walls of the chapel.

The Norman chapel adjoining the north transept must have been removed soon after the erection of the present choir, when it gave place to the Early English building now used as the library. To this chapel there would seem to have been a second story, as in its Early English successor; there being, in the triforium range of the transept, a Norman doorway, now blocked up, which apparently must have given access to such an addition.

I must notice one other change which the Norman church has undergone. It is needless to say that the present low roof, and flat internal ceiling, of the nave and transepts, were no part of the original arrangement. What this was, however, may, I think, be pretty well determined. In plate 34 is represented, in elevation, one of the arches of the central tower, with a portion of the external face of the superincumbent structure. The original roof was in the line *a b c*: this is distinctly marked on all four sides of the tower: *d* and *e* are windows, giving light to the inside of the tower, through fine interior arches on the other side of a passage round the tower in the thickness of the wall: *f* is a plain opening into this passage only, there being no opposite arch into the inside of the tower: at *g* and *h* are openings through into the tower, across another passage in the thickness of the wall. The arches of *g* and *h* spring from engaged semicircular shafts with moulded bases and capitals, and have the same soffit moulding as the lower order of the tower arch below, and the same order of the main arches and triforium arches of the nave: the corresponding arches on the inside of the tower, on the other side of the passage, are, if we except the west and north doors, certainly the most enriched pieces of work in the Norman part of the church: neither these, nor the fine though plainer arcade above them, were ever intended to be shut out from below, and appropriated, as at present, to the private admiration of the ringers. The present flat ceiling, to tower, nave, and transepts, is at the level of *a c*; and the slopes of the roofs of the two latter now cut across the arches *g* and *h*, the tops of which consequently are visible from the outside of the church. But now, imagine the roof restored to the original pitch *a b c*, the ceiling raised some 13ft. to about the level of the dotted line on the plan, and the tower open internally,

if not through its whole height, at any rate fully as high as my plan extends. This, I think, undoubtedly, was the original arrangement: *g* and *h* thus forming, in each wall of the tower, an internal arcade above the main arch, opening on one side into the lantern tower, and on the other into the nave and transepts under the ceilings of these, and *f* giving access to the space between the ceilings and the roofs.¹ We admire the church, even as it is, and most justly: but it is scarcely possible to over-estimate the grievous loss of beauty and grandeur, which results from the present flat ceiling. Should any of us live to see the original arrangement restored, we shall say that there is no finer Norman interior in England.

When the present roof was placed on the church, the arches *g* and *h* would have to be walled up; and at the same time the transept gables would have to be lowered to suit the lower pitch of the roof.² The readiest materials, therefore, for filling up *g* and *h*, would be the stones taken from these gables. And this we find was the case: *g* and *h* are filled up,—on the nave and transept sides, not on the choir side; here they would be blocked up when the vaulting was placed on the choir,—with stones that have the same pattern worked on them as that which covers the remaining pediments of the transept gables. The same stones are used in the parapet of the tower,³ which, I therefore suppose, received its present finish at the same time. The corner pinnacles of this tower,⁴ which are original Norman work, also came, it seems likely, together with the materials of the parapet on which they stand, from these gables. In this case they were originally corner pinnacles flanking the transept gables,

¹ As to the canted form which I have given in the plan to my supposed restoration of the ceiling, there is no authority for it. Very probably, instead of this, it had the rounded form of a barrel vault. The arch of the great west window, a Perpendicular insertion, is just pointed, very nearly semicircular. It may be that it received this form of arch, in accommodation to the form of the nave ceiling. That there was an internal ceiling, I conclude from the opening *f*: this would have no meaning, had all been open to the actual roof.

² The gable at the west end of the nave would already have been altered, at the time of the insertion of the west window.

³ Originally the tower ended just above the corbel table, and was surmounted, probably, by a low pyramidal wooden spire.

⁴ The pinnacles on the west towers are modern imitations of these: erected within the last fifty years, after the removal of the spires from these towers.

just in the same way as the flanking pinnacles which still remain on the north porch.

[The inserted Perpendicular windows of the nave will be noticed further on.]

THE EARLY ENGLISH CHOIR, AND THE ADJOINING BUILDINGS
ON THE NORTH: TEMP. HENRY III AND EDWARD I.

I have now to produce such historical notices of the fabric, as I have been able to collect, belonging to the thirteenth century. To this period, I conceive, what of history has survived tends to assign the remaining portions of Southwell church; excepting, of course, some evident insertions of later date, such as the organ-screen, the sedilia, and the windows of the library.

In the remarks I have to offer upon these remnants of history, I shall have to make frequent reference to Mr. Dickenson's *History of Southwell*. It has been generally considered a work of authority; and from it one or two smaller histories that have since appeared have in great measure drawn their materials. I am sorry to be obliged to add that it abounds in blunders; more especially, perhaps, the historical part which relates to the fabric of the church: and some of these blunders stand so full in my way, that I cannot well keep straight on my course without running foul of them.

The first document of the thirteenth century I have to produce, are letters of indulgence of archbishop Walter Grey. He was archbishop of York from 1215 to 1255. In *Torre's Collectanea*, preserved at York, this document is briefly described as "an indulgence of thirty days to the consummation of the fabric of the church of Southwell long since begun." Mr. Dickenson had consulted these collections of Torre, but unfortunately he made a serious mistake in transcribing: instead of Torre's "fabric long since begun," he gives "long since begun *to be restored*."¹ And he dismisses the point with the observation, that "at this time, it seems, some part of the church was much out of repair." By the courtesy of the authorities at York, I have been allowed to take a copy of the indulgence itself, from the original roll of archbishop Walter Grey: of this I

¹ Dickenson's *History of Southwell*, p. 210.

will now give the substance: I think the reader will agree with me, that it refers to something far more than mere restoration of a church out of repair.

The indulgence¹ is addressed by the archbishop to his venerable brethren the bishops, and his beloved sons the archdeacons: and after stating that "the means of the church of Southwell were insufficient for the consummation of the fabric a while since begun, and that the pope had granted, to all who were confessed and truly penitent, a release of twenty days from penance enjoined, on condition of their giving aid to the construction of the said fabric," the archbishop then earnestly exhorts the persons whom he is addressing to "use their best exertions in collecting for this purpose the alms and charitable assistance of those under their charge, that so the work might be brought to a happy consummation; and himself also grants, to all who were confessed and truly penitent, who should contribute of their goods to the construction of the said church, a release of thirty days from the penance enjoined them." And this indulgence he wills shall remain in force for the space of three years. It is dated from Thorp, 9th Kal. Dec. in the nineteenth year of his pontificate; that is, Nov. 23, A.D. 1233.

¹ "W. Dei gratia, &c., venerabilibus fratribus episcopis et dilectis filiis universis archidiaconis, &c. Quoniam, ut ait Apostolus, omnes stabimus ante tribunal Christi, recepturi prout in corpore gessimus, sive bonum fuerit sive malum, oportet nos diem messonis extremæ misericordiæ operibus prævenire, ac eternorum intuitu seminare in terris quod reddente Domino cum multiplicato fructu recolligere debeamus in cœlis. Cum igitur facultates ecclesiæ Suwell' ad inceptæ dudum fabricæ consummationem non sufficiant; ac dominus papa omnibus, qui de bonis sibi a Deo collatis ad constructionem dictæ fabricæ grata impenderint, confessis et vere penitentibus, viginti dies de injuncta sibi penitentia relaxaverit; universitatem vestram rogamus attente et exhortamur in Domino, quatinus subditos vestros moneatis et efficaciter inducat, ut de bonis sibi a Deo collatis pias elemosinas et grata caritatis subsidia ad hoc studeant erogare, ut per benevolentiam suam opus hujusmodi feliciter consummetur, et per hæc et alia quæ Domino inspirante fecerint ad eternæ possint felicitatis præmia pervenire. Nos autem, de misericordia Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus confisi, omnibus vere penitentibus et confessis, qui ad dictæ ecclesiæ constructionem de bonis suis erogaverint, triginta dies de injuncta sibi penitentia relaxamus. Volumus autem quod hæc indulgentia duret per triennium. Dat' apud Torp ix kal' Decembris pontificatus nostri anno decimo nono."—*Rot. Major of Abp. Walter Grey*, § 276; amongst the records of York Cathedral.

Torre gives 1235 as the date of this indulgence; but, according to Drake, it appears from the *Rot. Major of Walter Grey*, that his pontificate dates from Nov. 10th or 11th, A.D. 1215. Drake's *York*, page 425, note (h). If this be correct, 9th Kal: Dec. or Nov. 23rd, 19th of his pontificate, would be Nov. 23rd, A.D. 1233.

Now this indulgence, soliciting contributions, as it does, from the whole province of York, and directed to remain in force for three years, intimates that costly buildings were then in progress at Southwell. And this appears more strongly from the language of the indulgence: "the fabric a while since begun," "the construction of the fabric," are terms which, applied to the church, can hardly be understood of any small additional building: and still more from the words, "the construction of the said church," we must, I think, conclude, without hesitation, that some very important portion of the church was then in process of erection. This important portion, I believe to have been the present choir: the commencement of which, inasmuch as it is described as "a while since begun," we may fix at somewhere about the year 1230. This is exactly the date which the structure of this part of the church suggests for itself: it is still, as a whole, pure Early English, though advanced in the style: and the only other part of the church that could possibly be supposed of this date, the chapel to the east of the north transept, now used as the library, an afterwork to the choir, is of very insufficient importance for the language of the indulgence.

I must remark, that what I have translated "a while since", is in Torre's abstract translated "long since". The word in the original indulgence is "dudum": and this, I believe, in medieval Latin means "a while since", "lately", and not "long since".

I proceed to the next historical notice. In the foundation deed of a chantry by Robert de Lexinton, canon of Southwell, of a date not later than 1241, it is ordained that the chaplain shall celebrate the service "in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr *in the new work*".¹ At that time then, a building or portion of a building was lately completed, of size sufficient to have a chantry chapel annexed to it or contained within it. Unfortunately, we have no means of ascertaining the situation of this chapel of St. Thomas: in all probability one of the small eastern transepts of the choir was appropriated for this purpose. There is structural evidence, that the eastern end of the choir,

¹ The words are, "In capella beati Thomæ Martyris in novo opere."—*White Book*, p. 327.

including these transepts, was built before the remaining part between these transepts and the central tower;¹ and supposing the choir to have been commenced about 1230, by 1240 this eastern half may well have arrived at full completion. Possibly, St. Thomas' chapel may have been in the building now used as the library: but on this supposition, the whole choir to its junction with the nave must have been completed, and this building on the north been afterwards added, between about 1230 and 1240: which seems to be allowing too short a time for such extensive works. Besides, I am here giving the latest possible date to this foundation deed of Robert de Lexinton: there is proof that it is not later than 1241, but there is no proof that it is not some few years earlier.² This new work, then, spoken of by Robert de Lexinton, somewhere about 1240, perhaps a year or two earlier, I conclude, as the most probable supposition, to have been the new choir then in course of erection: the eastern half of which was

¹ By referring to plate 33, it will be seen that, as the eastern termination of the Norman choir was at *a*, it would be practicable to build all of the present choir that lies east of a line drawn north and south through that point, before the Norman choir was pulled down. That this probably would be done, we might infer from what we know in other instances of the mode of proceeding of the old church builders: that it actually was done, is sufficiently proved by the following facts. Within the last few years, the east end of the choir, portions of the north side, and almost the whole of the south, have had new foundations given to the walls. In all parts east of the line through *a*, the original foundations were found to be composed of a coarse stone from the immediate neighbourhood of Southwell; but directly the workmen began upon the wall of the south aisle, between the small eastern and the great transepts, they turned out stone after stone that undoubtedly had once belonged to the Norman choir—pieces of the magnesian limestone, such as is used in the nave and transepts, with mouldings identical with those found in these Norman parts of the church. Therefore, before this latter part of the Early English choir was commenced, the Norman choir, as indeed was absolutely necessary, had been taken down, and its materials were used in the new work. But it was standing untouched when the walls of all the eastern parts were raised; otherwise, it would have afforded ready materials, certain to be used, for these parts also. This conclusion is confirmed by some small bits of detail, of earlier character, that occur in the eastern parts of the choir.

² Robert de Lexinton founded two chantries, for one and two priests respectively, at the altar of St. Thomas; the foundation deeds of which are preserved in the *White Book*. An ordination deed of Abp. Walter Grey, with regard to the latter of these chantries, is also there preserved, dated at Oxtou, October 9th, A.D. 1241; in which it is provided that the two priests shall serve at the said altar, "together with the chaplain who there ministers by assignment of the same Dnus. Robert." This must refer to the chaplain of the other chantry, which, therefore, was founded first of the two, and before October 1241. It is in the foundation deed of this earlier chantry, that the chapel of St. Thomas is said to be in the new work.

already finished, and the whole of which, it seems necessary further to suppose, must have been fast advancing towards completion, to allow of divine service going on in any part.¹

I shall beg leave to make a short digression. I wish to mention a few facts regarding this Robert de Lexinton. They will be of use to us before long: and, moreover, there is local interest attached to them.

Robert de Lexinton was one of a family which took its name from Lexinton, or Laxton as it is now called, in this neighbourhood, and which rose to high distinction in the reigns of John and Henry III. We learn from the patent rolls, that he was presented by king John, in the vacancy of the see of York, to a canonry at Southwell, in the year 1214.² Dugdale tells us, that he was a judge from 1220 to 1243.³ His death, May 29, 1250, is recorded by Matthew Paris; who adds that, "having long held the office of judge, he had acquired a famous name and very ample possessions, but that a few years before his death, being struck with paralysis he retired from office, and like St. Matthew, called from the receipt of custom to a better mode of life, laudably spent his last years of ill health in large almsgiving and devout prayer."⁴ He founded two chantries at Southwell; and we may well believe, that of his bountiful almsgiving the rising fabric of the choir would be no small partaker. The *White Book* would record no gifts of money, but it contains two or three donations of his, to the fabric, of parcels of land. Thoroton mentions his contributing to the fabric of the church at Rufford; and says that to Newstead abbey he was one of the most considerable benefactors.⁵ After his death, and the deaths of his brothers, John de Lexinton, who was keeper of the great seal, and Henry, who was bishop of Lincoln, his possessions descended to the children of his two sisters. One of these married a Roland de Sutton, from whom the present Sir Richard Sutton is lineally

¹ There is no absolute necessity, however, for this supposition. In a similar case in York cathedral, it appears that a chantry was endowed in the Lady-chapel at the east end of the choir, before the western half of the choir was even commenced.—See Willis's *Architectural History of York Cathedral*, p. 34.

² *Rot. Lit. Pat.* Record Commission, p. 115.

³ *Orig. Jurid.*, p. 42.

⁴ *Matt. Paris. Ed. Wats.*, p. 526.

⁵ Thoroton's *Notts.* p. 378, 260, and 262.

descended. I need not remind the good people of Newark, that the adjoining parish of Averham forms part of the possessions of a branch of the Sutton family: but even some of them may not be aware, that it was one of the lordships which came from this Robert de Lexington to his nephew Robert de Sutton, six hundred years since.

The next historical notice of the fabric I have to produce, is to be found amongst the acts of a general convocation of the canons of Southwell in the spring of 1248. It is there ordered, that "the custos of the fabric shall once every year render an account of all his receipts; and that he shall have associated with him some canon or vicar of the church, who may bear testimony thereto."¹ This enactment for the better supervision of the fabric receipts was, we may well suppose, owing to these receipts being more numerous and to a greater amount than usual; and extraordinary fabric funds would suggest that extraordinary work at the fabric was going on or in contemplation. It is worth remarking, that receipts only are here spoken of: there is no mention of expenditure, as in the similar notice to be next produced. This seems to intimate, that no work was actually going on at this time; but, either that there was a pause in some building, while funds were being provided for its completion, or, that some new building was in contemplation. It was also agreed in the same convocation, that "the several canons should pay to the fabric a fifteenth of their prebends for the ensuing three years." This again tells of building, in progress or in contemplation, which demanded an expenditure beyond what the ordinary fabric funds would supply. It may be, that the choir was still waiting for its last finish; or, perhaps more probably, the choir now finished, that provision was being made for the buildings to the north of it.

¹ "Ordinatum fuit, . . . quod custos fabricæ ecclesiæ singulis annis semel in anno reddat compotum suum coram duobus canonicis residentibus de omnibus receptis suis, et quod aliquis canonicus vel vicarius ecclesiæ associetur dicto custodi qui possit perhibere testimonium de receptis suis. . . . Provisum etiam fuit quod singuli canonici solvant de prebendis suis per triennium quintam decimam fabricæ ecclesiæ suæ."

The acts whence these extracts are taken, form part of a manuscript preserved amongst the chapter records, entitled '*The Statutes*'; written probably towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, after her statutes had been given to the church. From this MS. the printed Southwell statutes, to the end of Queen Elizabeth's statutes, very incorrectly however, are derived. These are in Dickenson's *Southwell*, 358-386.

Again, at a chapter held in September 1260, it was in like manner decreed, that "the custos of the fabric shall have associated with him some chaplain of the church, appointed by the residentiaries, who shall examine his accounts and bear testimony as to the receipts and expenses": (In this case, "receipts and expenses" are spoken of, not "receipts" only, as in the similar decree of 1248:) it was also ordered, that "the custos shall not begin any new work, in the church or outside, without the consent of the canons in general convocation."¹ This fresh enactment for the better supervision of the fabric receipts and expenditure, tells of work, beyond ordinary repairs, now going on: and in conjunction with the check thus put upon new operations, seems to intimate that there had been a too lavish expenditure in building on the part of the resident authorities of the church, and that some work had been lately commenced, which, from want of means, did not meet with the entire approval of the canons in general. In any case, this enactment tells of new work: and here probably we have a reference to some part of the buildings north of the choir,—the present library, or perhaps the earlier portion of the cloisters leading to the chapter-house; the first part of which, abutting on the library, though of very similar character, yet is a distinct building from the further part opening into the chapter-house; or possibly, to the chapel of St. John the Baptist, no vestige of which now remains, but which once stood on the south side of the nave, and was of about this date.²

¹ "Item custos fabricæ ecclesiæ socium habebit aliquem capellanum de ecclesia, sibi a residentibus datum, qui in compoto suo de receptis suis et expensis poterit ei testimonium perhibere. Nec novam fabricam incipiet, in ecclesia vel extra, nisi de consensu fratrum in generali congregatione presentium et procuratorum absentium."—*White Book*, p. 45.

² This chapel, in all likelihood, was built by a Henry le Vavasour, canon of Southwell, who founded a chantry at the altar of St. John Baptist. (*White Book*, p. 327.) His name occurs in the *White Book* as early as 1257: according to Torre, he was dead by August 1280: the probable date of his foundation deed of the chantry ranges between 1275 and 1280. This chapel was afterwards added to, or re-edified, in the fifteenth century, by Abp. Lawrence Booth, who founded therein two additional chantries; after which, it was often called Booth's Chapel. Thoroton, p. 316, speaks of it as having become in his time, "by negligence in the late wars and since," utterly ruinous. It was afterwards repaired, and used as a school and library, but was taken down in 1784. The arch of communication into the nave aisle, in the second bay from the west tower, was visible until within a few years: it was of late Early English character, and was walled up, with an atrocious inserted window of three lights. In removing the old foundation of this part of the aisle, some five years

To these incidental notices of building going on from about 1230 to 1260, must be added the numerous donations to the fabric in the reign of Henry III. Mr. Dickenson indeed, says,¹ that it was during the reigns of Edward II and III, that these donations were made to the fabric; and hence draws one of his reasons for assigning to the choir a date, which he elsewhere acknowledges to be at least half a century later than the style of the building would indicate.² Now the donation deeds, in regard to which Mr. Dickenson makes this assertion, are preserved in the *White Book*. They are all, with no exception, without date; a fact which alone would render his supposition as to their age extremely improbable. In the reign of Edward I, the custom commenced of affixing dates to such instruments; a thing rarely done before that time: in the reign of Edward II this custom became pretty general, and, in that of his successor, I believe I may say, universal. Consequently, when we find a number of such deeds recorded entire, as is the case with those in question, and without date, it affords no small presumption that the bulk of them, at the very latest, are not later than the reign of Edward I. In fact, the assigning the date he does to these deeds was a mere arbitrary assumption on the part of Mr. Dickenson,—an assumption easily proved to be most erroneous. For an approximation to the age of such documents may generally be gathered from the names of the donors or the subscribing witnesses, by ascertaining from other sources the times in which these lived. And I assert, with perfect confidence, that there is no single deed containing a donation to the fabric to be found in the *White Book*, which can be shown to be of the age either of Edward II or Edward III; and that all, or nearly all, of the deeds to which he refers, are of the time of Henry III: one or two of them being very probably even earlier, and one or two possibly of the time of Edward I.

I do not like making so decided a counter-assertion, without offering some proof. To give anything like a full proof would involve far more infliction of dry old musty

since, previous to underpinning, the whole walling-up fell in. The bay was thereupon restored, according to the original Norman arrangement.

¹ Dickenson's *Southwell*, p. 217.

² *Ibid.* p. 61.

details than the patience of my readers could submit to. I will, however, take two or three of the deeds which Dickenson ascribes to the age of Edward III, and will produce particulars connected with them, sufficient to show how mistaken he was in his opinion, and that I do not speak so boldly without some reason.

The first of his instances is the donation of three bovates of land at Normanton, by Ralph de Bella Aqua:¹ Dickenson has *Robert*, but it is a mistake. These three bovates had been previously conveyed to this Ralph, by Beatrix, his mother; one of the witnesses to which conveyance was an Alan de Pykering, who was succeeded by Galfrid de Insula, in a canonry at Southwell, in the year 1213.² And Ralph de Bella Aqua's deed of gift to the fabric, has for one of its witnesses, Robert de Lexinton, the same person that I lately mentioned, who, it must be remembered, became canon of Southwell in 1214, and died in 1250. This donation, therefore, instead of being of the time of Edward III, was made not later than 1250, and, it may be, many years earlier.

The next of Mr. Dickenson's donors is a lady, an Agnes de Burbeck. She, however, was not an actual donor: she only, in her widowhood, quitclaims all right to five roods of meadow in Upton, which, she says, had been before given to the fabric by her husband, John de Angre.³ This John de Angre, who is called bailiff of Southwell, and bailiff of the archbishop, was a great benefactor to the fabric; and it is certain he lived in the reign of Henry III. His name occurs very frequently in the *White Book*, and is associated with such names as those of Richard de Sutton, who became canon of Southwell in 1242, and died about 1270;⁴ William de Wydington, the founder of a chantry at Southwell, who died before Richard de Sutton;⁵ and Henry de Nottingham, the founder of another

¹ *White Book*, p. 176.—The conveyance to Ralph de B. A., by Beatrix, his mother, is on the same page.

² *Rot. Lit. Pat.* 14th John. Record commission, p. 96.

³ *White Book*, p. 175.

⁴ He succeeded Henry de Lexinton in the prebend of North-Muskham, in 1242.—*Torre's Coll.* In 1274, he is spoken of as 'defunct,' 'of good memory;' and his executors are purchasing an estate for the endowment of a chantry for his soul.—*White Book*, p. 29-33.

⁵ *White Book*, p. 301.—Where Richard de Sutton is witness to a deed quitclaiming an annual rent due to the chaplain at the altar of St. Nicholas, for the soul of William de Wydington.

chantry, who died before 1250.¹ In a lease of some fabric land, made by the chapter in 1287, the property is described as "of the gift of John de Angre, of *pious memory*".²

Another donor, according to Mr. Dickenson, is a Godfrey Andegavensis, or le Angevin (Dickenson makes his name Andegaimer). He must have lived in the early part of the thirteenth century; his name occurs several times, and, in one instance, as witness to a deed of a Henry, son of Thomas de Roldeston, which deed was certainly executed not later than 1221.³ He, however, does not appear as a benefactor to the fabric. Mr. Dickenson seems to have been misled by a deed⁴ conveying a rent for a light before one of the altars, which, by some error, has found a place amongst the fabric muniments. It was a marvellous muddlement of blunders that converted this person into a benefactor to the fabric in the reign of Edward III.

Another of these benefactors of Mr. Dickenson, is a Richard de Normanton; but he again, as in the case of Agnes de Burbeck, was no actual donor to the fabric. He does but quitclaim all right to eight selions of land in Normanton;⁵ and this land he describes as having been given to the fabric,—part of it by his ancestors, and the remaining part by Robert de Lexinton, who became canon of Southwell in 1214, and died in 1250.

One more instance; and this, if possible, will be still more palpably absurd than any yet. Mr. Dickenson names two donors, Richard de Upton and Hugh de Upton. No such person as the former occurs as a donor: the latter is sometimes called Hugh, son of Richard de Upton; and hence, I suppose, the mistake. Now this Hugh de Upton, who was rector of Kneeton, gave to the fabric certain property in Kirklington;⁶ and, in the very next page of the *White Book*, there is a copy of a lease, made by the chapter, of this same property, described as of the gift of master Hugh de Upton; which lease bears the date of Oct. 1273, that is, the first year of Edward I. This lease, however,

¹ *White Book*, p. 421.—Where Robert de Lexinton grants certain quit-rents to the chaplain, celebrating for the soul of Henry de Notingham, of good memory, at the altar of St. John Evangelist, where the bones of the said Henry are resting.

² *White Book*, p. 168.

³ *Ibid.* p. 42 and 43.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 176.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 177.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 180.

escaped Mr. Dickenson's notice ; and Hugh de Upton is another of his benefactors to the fabric, of the reign of Edward III. In another place, indeed, in the *White Book*, the name of this same Hugh de Upton occurs in connexion with the fabric. Here, however, he only quitclaims all right in a bovate of fabric-land in Flintham, which he held by lease of the chapter ; and to this quitclaim, Richard de Sutton is witness, who was canon of Southwell as early as 1242, and died about 1270.¹

I repeat, then, that the donation-deeds to the fabric, which Mr. Dickenson assigns to the reign of Edward III, are not of that date, but of the time of Henry III, or thereabouts. And this is equally true of those which he attributes to the reign of Edward II. In fact, the whole of the donations to the fabric recorded in the *White Book*,—and there are about thirty of them in all,—belong to this earlier period, with the exception of two, which bear the dates respectively of 1411 and 1444. These donations are made “to God and the fabric”; occasionally there is added, “for promotion of the fabric”, “for the work of the fabric”, or some expression of like import ; and therefore they afford no precise information as to any particular portion of the church being in progress. Still, considering their number, and the fact of their being so confined to this period, they do intimate that extraordinary efforts were then being made, and supply additional evidence of extensive works being in progress in the course of the thirteenth century.

One historical notice, belonging to this century, yet remains. This is to be found in the statutes of archbishop John Romaine, dated at Southwell, Wednesday after the Epiphany, A.D. 1293, or, as we now reckon, 1294. It appears that the prebendal houses of certain foreigners, who then held canonries at Southwell, were falling to ruin. The archbishop orders that these houses be properly repaired within the year ; and, in case of neglect, directs heavy penalties to be enforced, and these to go to the fabric of the new chapter-house.² Now this expression may be supposed to denote a building already finished, or one in

¹ *White Book*, p. 182.

² “Domus alienigenarum canonicorum minantes ruinam infra annum reparantur debite : ad quarum reparationem ipsos per vos compelli volumus et mandamus, sub gravi pœna per vos capitulum juxta defectus taxanda, quæ ad

process of construction, or, again, one only in contemplation, for which funds were being provided. I am inclined to give the preference to the former of these suppositions. I believe that, in medieval phraseology, "fabrica novi capituli" would mean a building already in existence; at any rate, one so far advanced towards completion, as to be nearly, if not quite, ready for use, rather than a building only under contemplation, or even lately commenced. In this case, funds might be specially set apart for keeping the new building in repair; or they might be required for finishing the ornamental details, much of which would probably be left till the actual fabric was completed.

A confirmation of this view is, perhaps, to be found in some of the fragments of painted glass remaining in the windows of the chapter-house. There are, indeed, in these windows, fragments of various dates, collected in great measure probably from other parts of the church; but there are also many pieces which certainly formed part of the original glazing, and these are pronounced by Mr. Winston¹ (than whom, I believe, on this point, there is no better authority) to be "remnants of early decorated glass of the reign of Edward I." Moreover, amongst these remnants are depicted the yellow castles of Castile, the arms of Eleanor of Castile, queen of Edward I. I am not at all sure that I am right in taking for granted that these arms would be depicted only during her lifetime; but if so, then it follows that the glazing must have been in preparation, and, consequently, the fabric of the chapter-house about completed, at the latest, in 1290, the year of queen Eleanor's death.

I conceive, then, that the notices I have produced, relating to the thirteenth century, tend to prove so much as this:—That the choir was commenced about 1230; that, in about ten years from that time, it must have been far advanced towards completion, when divine service was being

fabricam novi capituli deputetur.—*White Book*, page 52. These statutes are in the *Southwell Statutes*, p. 5, &c., Dickenson, p. 360.

When Mr. Dickenson reprinted these statutes, this reference to the chapter-house must have escaped his notice. It is a work of early geometrical character. He makes out that it was built in the reign of Richard II (pp. 61, 63). The beautiful entrance archway, however, he attributes to the "exquisite taste and liberality" of the "magnificent Wolsey" (pp. 64 and 241).

¹ In his *Account of the Painted Glass in Lincoln Cathedral and Southwell Minster*, in the Lincoln volume of the Archæological Institute, p. 105.

performed at the altar of St. Thomas, in the new work; and that it was, probably, fully completed before 1248, when we find mention of extraordinary fabric receipts, but not of any expenditure; that, in 1260, some additional building (the present library, perhaps, or the adjoining cloisters) was in progress; and that by 1290, or soon after, the chapter-house also was completed. Of course, I pretend not to have brought anything like full proof of this: I am but stating what I believe to be the most probable deductions from the few incidental notices that form all of history I am able to produce. The case is this. There are a succession of buildings before us, the earliest of which (of by far the greatest magnitude) is the choir, and the latest, the chapter-house; and these buildings, to judge from all buildings of like style, whose date is certain, we should at once say must have been erected about the period here assigned to them. There are historical notices extant, sufficient to show that, during this period, considerable work was in progress: the earliest of which notices refers to a work, lately begun, of sufficient importance to be designated as "the construction of the church"; and, in the latest of them, the chapter-house is actually named. I think it is not without good reason that we conclude that these notices refer to the buildings now in existence; and if so, then I have produced some proof, such as it is, of what would otherwise be but probable supposition, as to the date of these portions of the church.

There are two documents bearing upon the architectural history of the church, of the reign of Edward III. These we will now consider. Mr. Dickenson concluded that they proved undoubtedly that the choir was erected in this reign.

The first of these, preserved in the *White Book*, is a license granted by Edward III for the carriage of stone from the quarry of the fabric at Mansfield through the forest of Sherwood. It is addressed to Ralph de Nevile, custos of the forests beyond the Trent, or to his locumtenens in the forest of Sherwood; and bears date October 16, 1337. This license, after reciting the provision of the forest charter, 25th Edward I, cap. xiv, as regards the taking of tolls by the king's foresters, states that "complaint has been made to the king on the part of the canons

and chapter of St. Mary of Southwell, that carts sent by them to fetch stone from their quarry for the fabric of their church, have often been, and daily are arrested by the Sherwood foresters, for payment of toll, contrary to the form of the above statute, to the no small loss of the canons and chapter, and the manifest deterioration of the church."¹ It concludes by commanding that the foresters desist for the future from such unjust grievances.

This document, according to Mr. Dickenson, furnishes full proof that the choir of the church was erected in the reign of Edward III. This he does not merely advance as a possible or probable deduction from the facts stated in the license, but valiantly pronounces it to be a matter hereby "placed beyond a doubt:"²—a conclusion this, which would have good show of reason, were no Mansfield stone used in any part of the church save the choir; but, with the buildings that stand before our eyes, a conclusion, I may venture to say, most illogical. For what is it that this document proves? It proves, indeed, that considerable quantities of stone had been, and then were being fetched for the purposes of the fabric; consequently, that some building was in progress or in contemplation, which required such an amount of material; but it supplies no intimation whatever as to what this building was. There are parts of the church which bear the character of buildings known to have been erected about this time; the present organ-screen, for instance, and the external pinnacles and flying buttresses over the north and south aisles of the choir. And these contain no small mass of stonework; either one of them, most certainly, a mass amply sufficient of itself to satisfy the words of the license; especially when we consider what sort of cart-loads it would be practicable to drag through the then roads be-

¹ "Cum....ex parte dilectorum nobis in Christo canonicorum et capituli ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Suthwell' nobis sit ostensum, quod cum ipsi quasdam carectas suas, pro lapidibus de quarrera sua ad fabricam ecclesiæ predictæ per medium forestæ predictæ cariandis, quandoque miserint, quidam forestariorum in predicta foresta nostra de Shyrewode et eorum servientes carectas predictas cum equis suis, pro hujusmodi chimnagio eis contra formam statuti predicti prestanto, sepius arestarunt et indies aretari faciunt, ac eos multipliciter inquietant, in ipsorum canonicorum et capituli dampnum non modicum et ecclesiæ predictæ deterioracionem manifestam."—*White Book*, p. 203. The entire license is given in Dickenson (p. 345), very incorrectly, however, in parts.

² Dickenson's *Southwell*, p. 59.

tween Southwell and Mansfield. Assuredly then, in this license we find no necessity whatever for having recourse, with Mr. Dickenson, to the almost impossible supposition, that the choir of the church must have been at this time in process of erection: rather we may conclude, that the material herein spoken of was required for one or both of the buildings I have mentioned, whose character will well correspond with this date.

The other document, as described by Torre, is a "letter of request issued out from the chapter of York, for to collect the alms and charitable contributions of the people within the city, diocese, and province of York, for the support of the fabric of the church of St. Mary of Suthwell": it is dated October 9, A.D. 1352. Unfortunately, the abstract only of this document is now available, as given in Torre's *Collections*: the original volume, from which in this case he abstracted, having since his time disappeared. Mr. Dickenson,¹ in quoting this abstract of Torre, has again made a serious blunder, profitable towards his supposition as to the date of the choir. He makes Torre say, "for the *furtherance*", instead of "for the *support* of the fabric". *Furtherance* is a term which would be applied to a fabric in course of erection, requiring funds for its completion; whereas the term used by Torre, *support*, applies rather to a building already finished, whose fabric property supplied funds insufficient for some necessary repairs. The natural inference, therefore, from the real words of this abstract of Torre, is that all essential parts of the actual fabric were at this time complete, but that some extraordinary expenditure was required for its due preservation. Now, it is evident, that no very long time after its erection, there was a considerable settlement in the fabric of the choir; the effects of which, still to be traced in the patched-up fissures, might well cause alarm for the safety of the building. It is not at all impossible, that this letter of request may have been one of the efforts made to procure funds for remedying the mischief: the expression "for the *support* of the fabric" would be of all others the most applicable in such a case. If this be so, then we have here an intimation sup-

¹ Mr. Dickenson gives the whole of Torre's abstract; and, with this exception, without any material mistake. (P. 217.)

plied, as to the time when the flying buttresses and their pinnacles were added on either side of the choir to support the failing fabric. This, however, is a mere supposition; all I wish to maintain is this, that this letter of request affords no evidence whatever, that any material part of the building, such as the choir, was in process of erection in the reign of Edward III; and that if it proves anything, it proves that there was a church then in being, whose fabric required extraordinary repairs.

I must not, however, leave this document, without observing, that it supplies some additional evidence to that already produced, of extensive works being in progress in the course of the thirteenth century. According to Torre, the original letter recited the "indulgences formerly granted to those who should thus charitably relieve the church: viz. from pope Boniface, forty days of pardon; from the popes Urban, Celestine, Gregory, Honorius, Innocent, Clement, and Alexander, one year and forty days of pardon from each; likewise all the indulgences granted and confirmed by archbishops and bishops, especially of Walter, Sewald, Godfrey, William, archbishops of York, and bishops of Dunelm, forty days from each." Now of these popes, Boniface is no doubt Boniface VIII, 1294-1303:¹ there had been no other pope of the name for more than three centuries. The other names are the names of the popes who lived during the reign of Henry III,—exactly, except that there were two Gregorys: they are, however, here placed in a very different order from the order of succession of the popes during this reign; and as all of these names, moreover, were borne by more than one pope within no great number of years previous to 1352, we may not, perhaps, from hence draw much conclusion. But of the archbishops and bishops named, there can, I think, be no doubt, but that Walter, Sewald and Godfrey, are the three successive archbishops of York; Walter Grey, 1215-1255; Sewal de Bovil, 1256-1258; and Godfrey de Ludham, 1258-1264.² And if so, then their indulgences in

¹ This indulgence of pope Boniface seems to militate against my notion, that the chapter-house—the latest portion of the church of any great importance—was finished, or nearly so, by 1294.

² As to the fourth name, William, there was a William de Wickwane, archbishop of York from 1279 to 1285. But what is the meaning of Torre's words of designation, "archbishops of York, and *bishops of Dunelm*"? There had been

behalf of the fabric would suggest that in their pontificates some important work or works must have been in progress.

So far, therefore, from these two documents proving, as Mr. Dickenson maintains, that the choir of the church was erected in the reign of Edward III, on the whole they rather strengthen the evidence, I may venture to assert, of its having been erected in the reign of Henry III. They contain no proof whatever of his position: but they do, at least the latter of them, contain some evidence tending to establish the truth of the earlier date.

The fabric of the choir has undergone but few changes since its first erection. The only material alteration is externally, in the lowered roofs and gables. These originally were of extremely high pitch. The lines of roof of the main body are distinctly marked against the east face of the central tower, extending nearly to the top of the middle stage ornamented with the intersecting arcade: the cross which once crowned the apex of the eastern gable must have risen far above the tops of the flanking pinnacles. The small eastern transepts had roofs and gables proportionably lofty; the weather-mouldings of the roofs remaining against the clerestory walls. No doubt in all the destroyed gables was an additional tier of windows or blank arcading.¹ Beautiful as the choir still is, externally it is but a mutilated remnant of what, as a whole, must

no William, bishop of Durham, since 1153. There was a Walter, 1249-1260. No Sewal at all, that I can find; and no Godfrey since 1143. Possibly, Torre only gives the names of the archbishops of York whose indulgences were recited in the Letter of Request, and then means to add that similar instruments were also recited, which had been issued by certain bishops of Durham, whom he does not name; and yet his language will scarcely admit of this interpretation.

The indulgence of Walter Grey, produced before (*supra*, p. 280), is not the one here spoken of, if Torre's abstract be correct. That was for thirty days; this is for forty. Supposing that the choir was erected in his pontificate, there is every likelihood of its having granted more than one instrument of the sort.

Is it known, or can it be ascertained, what has become of the register from which Torre made this abstract? It was then at York, and he describes it as a "velome book, entitled *Liber Regist' per Capm. sede vacante ab a° 1352-55*." It has been long lost from York. There are, I believe, several York registers in the British Museum. Does this happen to be among the number? Could the original Letters of Request be found, they would very probably add much to our historical knowledge of the progress of the fabric during the thirteenth century. These letters would be found at page 8, or would be the eighth article in the register.

¹ Not improbably, the gables, and more especially the east one, had circular windows. Had there been another tier of lancets, vestiges of the feet of these would probably have survived. In the remaining pediment of the front of the small north transept, there is, however, in the centre, a small square recess,

have been very much more beautiful. Let any one look at the choir of Lincoln, especially let him observe the east end, and the south front of the eastern transept, and let him try to imagine what would be the result as to beauty, if its roofs and gables were served as at Southwell.

I have already had occasion to mention the flying buttresses to the choir; an addition probably about a century later than the choir itself. The western one on the south side is a restoration within the last four years. Originally, the arch of this had a water channel down its ridge, issuing through the midst of the base of the pinnacle in front. In the restoration of this arch, which was in a most dangerous state, it was deemed more prudent to adopt the plan of its neighbour to the east.

I shall just add, that the parapet of the aisles and small transepts is not original. These would seem to have had eave-roofs, projecting just above the cornice moulding. The fine clerestory parapet, however, is original Early English work.

Internally, were modern disfigurements away, the choir would be such, or very nearly such (excepting, of course, the subsequent insertion of the sedilia, and numberless mutilations of ornamental details), as it came from the hands of its builders six hundred years since. Two or three small alterations were made in the wall of the north aisle soon after its erection. When the building now used as the library was annexed to the just-finished choir, the doorway from the aisle to the stairs, conducting to the upper story of this building, was inserted in the aisle wall; and soon afterwards, upon the erection of the first part of the cloisters leading from the aisle to the chapter-house, a bay of the aisle wall was taken down, and the double doorway inserted, with the window, of three lancet lights, above; the arch of which window was concocted out of the arch-stones of the two lancets that previously occupied this bay.¹

That the building now used as the library was not erected until after the completion of the choir, appears from the

which may have been the foot of a lancet. The lowering of the roofs of these transepts has destroyed the transeptal character which they possessed externally. They are now mere projections from the aisles.

¹ In the south aisle of the choir, moreover, there are remains of an inserted doorway, of Perpendicular character. This will be noticed under the Perpendicular alterations.

fact that the external string-courses of the choir aisle, are, or plainly once were, perfect throughout, within this later building, to the junction of the choir with the Norman wall of the great transept; moreover, a buttress of the choir-aisle is partly buried in the east wall of this building. That it very quickly followed upon the completion of the choir, is to be inferred from the character—still decided Early English—of all its details. Instead, however, of the single lancets of the choir, it has, in its lower story, large window-arches, which originally, perhaps, enclosed three lancet lights. These are now occupied by three-lighted windows of late Decorated character, with heavy, doubly-foliated tracery of the reticulated pattern. Above, in the second story, is a beautiful lancet arcade externally, pierced occasionally for windows, which have trefoiled rear vaults internally. The lower story formed a double chantry-chapel, as proved by the two piscinas and aumbries. Its floor was some three feet below the level of the present library floor, and the floor of the adjoining great transept, from which there was a descent into it under two fine acute arches inserted in the semicircular arch, which, as I have before explained, previously opened into the Norman chapel, the predecessor of this building.

Later than the library, built against it to the east, is the first part of the cloisters, which lead from the choir-aisle to the chapter-house. The wall of these cloisters, on the left, is about flush with the fronts of the library buttresses, by which, therefore, the blank arcading of this side is interrupted. On the right was an open arcade—now much mutilated and blocked up—into a small court, which is surrounded on the other three sides by the aisle wall, the west wall of the small transept, and the chapter-house. It is said, by Mr. Dickenson¹ however,—I am afraid that I have no better authority,—that this court originally formed the site of a baptistery. It is certain that there was a well in it; and at first, a door, with a porch or penthouse overhead, led directly from it into the choir-aisle. When the entrance into this court by the cloisters was made, this earlier door would be useless; but its low segmental arch, with curious joggled voussoirs, still remains blocked up in the coeval aisle wall. As I have before said, the

¹ Dickenson's *Southwell*, p. 79.

first part of the cloisters is a distinct work from the further part opening into the chapter-house; possibly, therefore, this earlier part of the cloisters was merely intended, at first, as a kind of ornamental vestibule to this court, without, at the time, any contemplation of its after use, as leading towards the chapter-house. This part of the cloisters has lost its original roof.

Later again than this first part of the cloisters, I suppose to be the further part opening into the chapter-house, and the chapter-house itself. Here, however, I judge merely from the character of the details.¹ I am not aware of any structural evidence at the junction, as to which is the earlier of the two. Over this portion of the cloisters is a groined vault; and above this is a small room, to which access is given from the stairs leading to the roof of the chapter-house. As this room has a delicate little west window of pure Decorated character, I suppose it to be, in part at any rate, a subsequent addition to the substructure.

The chapter-house remains,—mutilated sadly, indeed, in the ornamental details within reach of the destroyer's hands,—still essentially the same as when it first rose in its beauty, in that, perhaps, the most beautiful of all church-building eras, the reign of Edward I. This, however, is only true of the interior. Externally, it has shared the same unhappy fate as the rest of the church, having been deprived of its high-pitched spire-like roof. The corner pinnacles, too, are most of them restorations, and no faithful copies apparently of their originals.

I must return to the choir, and just notice the beautiful organ-screen and sedilia. The former, as I have before said, is probably of the time of Edward III. As the entrance doorway, from the south aisle of the choir to the

¹ Very possibly, I am wrong in this point; the two works must have been of very nearly the same date; they are identical in general character, and I am not at all certain that the small differences of detail are decisive as to which is the earliest. On the left, going to the chapter-house, the two works are separated by the further library buttress. On the right, the junction is very curious. It is in the middle of one of the arches of the arcade. The string-course just above the arcade, and the mouldings of the arch, of what I suppose the later work, terminate in the figure of a man bestriding some lion-like monster; the string-course ending in the head of the man, the mouldings of the arch in his body and the monster he bestrides. The string-course of the earlier work, which is some two or three inches lower than the other string-course, terminates in foliage and fruit, at which the jaws of the monster seem to be gnawing. The half-arch of the earlier work seems to have been altered to suit the higher pitch of the other.

stairs to the organ-loft, forms part of the Early English work of the respond of the choir arcade, I therefore conclude, that a previous Early English rood-screen, probably of wood, was removed to make way for the present Decorated structure. This is of pure Decorated character, but not late in the style. Much of its ornamental details is now mere composition-work;¹ the mutilated parts having been thus restored some fifty years since. The side stalls inside the choir are wholly of this recent date; and every atom of their ornamental work is composition, sunk into or fastened on the stone. These, and the restorations of the screen, were the work of an Italian artist, Mr. Bernasconi.

The sedilia are also beautiful Decorated work, similar to the organ-screen in many points, but of later character. Here the arches have double foliations, a feature that does not occur in any original portion of the organ-screen. These sedilia are very remarkable, as being five in number. It has been said, that they are a mere bit of modern patchwork, and that the "sculptured ornaments and figures were taken from various parts of the interior upon making alterations therein:"² This is utterly incredible and impossible: there is indeed much restoration of former mutilation, as in the organ-screen, but further patchwork there is not.

PERPENDICULAR INSERTIONS: AND LATER HISTORY.

A few after insertions remain to be mentioned. I have not met with any historical notices, which I consider as throwing light upon the date of these.

The west towers have now, in the lower story of their western faces, recently-inserted windows, copied from the original Norman windows of the aisles and transepts. Formerly the place of these was occupied by inserted windows of three lights, of late Decorated character, with doubly-foliated tracery of the reticulated pattern. In the repairs of the south-west tower, about three years since, the Decorated window was done away with, and the present one inserted, for the sake of giving additional strength, which the tower much needed. In the north-west tower,

¹ The same is the case with some of the ornamental details, such as the corbels of the vaulting-shafts, in the choir.

² *History of Southwell Church*, by Clarke and Killpack, p. 52.

this change was partially effected some fifty years back: at which time the window-arch was inserted externally, but was left blank, the wall being built up: the actual window-opening has lately been made. Whether these restorations are according to the original Norman arrangement of the west front, may well be questioned.

In the nave aisles, one only of the original windows has been left, in the westernmost bay of the north aisle¹ next the tower: this window is identical externally² with the corresponding windows of the transepts. The next bay, between this and that occupied by the porch, has now a similar window, a late restoration, in place of a Perpendicular window. And the two opposite bays of the south aisle³ have also been lately restored in like manner. All the other windows of the nave aisles are poor meagre Perpendicular ones of three lights.⁴ These seem to have been insertions early in the style, towards the end of the fourteenth century: the jamb-mouldings are of Decorated rather than Perpendicular character, all but identical with those of the destroyed Decorated window of the south-west tower; and the terminations of the external hoods are, in several instances, the heads of females, with the square

¹ I have seen the remark somewhere made, I think in one of the publications of the Camden Society, that it is a curious fact that the original north-west window will be frequently found remaining when every other window of a church has been altered.

² Internally, the rear-arch of this window is moulded continuously with an edge-roll and an adjoining filleted hollow in the wall-plane. In addition to this moulding, the rear-arch of the corresponding transept windows has a second similar order, springing from jamb-shafts, and a hood of the double billet. The thicker wall of the transepts might account for the additional decoration; but the transepts have generally more ornament about them than the nave.

³ Until the late restoration, the first bay of this aisle, from the west tower, had a plain round-headed doorway, with single jamb-shafts, coeval with the Norman wall; and above it, a window similar to that in the opposite bay, but of smaller dimensions. The whole bay was in a state of great dilapidation, and was restored according to the opposite bay. The place of the doorway may still be seen on the inside. In the next bay was the Early English arch into the chapel of St. John Baptist, which I have before mentioned.

⁴ The sills of these windows are on a lower level than were the sills of the original windows; and those portions of the external zigzag string-course under the Norman windows, which had to be displaced when the larger openings were made for the Perpendicular windows, were removed to the lower level, and still run under the latter windows, connected with the string-course which remains at the original level by vertical returns. These returns also consist of a compound zigzag moulding, somewhat resembling the horizontal portions: the section, however, is distinct, and as this is identical with the zigzag jamb-mouldings of the remaining Norman windows no doubt these returns came from the jambs of the destroyed windows.

head-dress which is, I believe, characteristic of about the reign of Richard II.

The large Perpendicular window at the west end of the nave is later in the style. What the original Norman arrangement of this west front was, it is impossible to determine. The triforium and clerestory passages, however, were continued between the towers along the inside of this front. We may conjecture, therefore, that above the lower stage containing the west door there would be two tiers of arcading pierced occasionally for windows, which in the clerestory stage would perhaps be circular, corresponding with the other clerestory windows.

One more Perpendicular insertion deserves notice. This is a doorway in the south aisle of the choir, now only to be seen on the inside from beneath the gallery,¹ all external trace of it having been obliterated by modern restoration. Opposite to it, across the few intervening yards of the church-yard, was a door in the palace buildings. It seems, therefore, to have formed the private entrance into the choir from the archbishop's palace, and was perhaps inserted in the choir wall by archbishop Kempe, 1425-1452, the reputed builder of the palace.

As I have said, I know of no remnants of history that may be presumed to bear upon these later insertions in the fabric. In the *White Book*, indeed, are recorded two donations of property to the fabric in the fifteenth century: one in 1411, by Thomas Haxey, canon of Southwell, of a messuage and toft "for the work and profit of the fabric":² the other in 1444, by William Duffield and William Grave, canons of Southwell, of four tenements and several parcels of land, "for the sustentation and reparation of the works of the fabric".³ But these are no proof that any new buildings, or any extraordinary repairs even, were in progress. Possibly, indeed, these instances of bounty may have some connexion with the Perpendicular windows of the nave; but all they tell to any certainty is, that there were members of the Church in those days, who were anxious to preserve for posterity what the piety of their predecessors had bequeathed to their care.

¹ One of the terminations of the hood of this door is a crowned head, which affords a curious specimen of the S. S. collar. Of this, see a notice by Mr. Planché in the next paper.

² *White Book*, p. 192.

³ *Ibid.* p. 440.

In some of a few wills, again, ranging from 1475 to 1534, which happen to be preserved in a chapter register, there are certain small legacies bequeathed to the fabric.¹ But this, in those days, was no unusual way with people of showing that they loved to the last the house of God, where they and their fathers had worshipped. Such bequests, unless some specific destination was expressed in the will, would be applied to the general purposes of the fabric, the repairs or decorations which in such a building were constantly going on: and they prove nothing as to any additional work, unless it is expressly stated that they are given for the furtherance of some such work then in progress. In two of these instances, in 1490 and 1499, the gifts are made to the great campanile, that is, I suppose, to the central tower: but it is not said, that work was actually going on. Some unusual repairs may have been needed, or perhaps some addition to the tower, never executed, was in contemplation. It is impossible to suppose that any part of the tower was then erected.

Nor, again, have I met with any record as to the time when the original high-pitched roofs and lofty gables, of which I have already said enough, were sunk down to where we now see them. All I can say is, that this was done before 1672, when Hollar's prints of the church, as contained in Thoroton's *Nottinghamshire*, and in the early editions of Dugdale's *Monasticon*, were executed. In these prints, the roofs of both nave and choir are represented of the same form as at present.

The existing roofs, indeed, of the nave and transepts, were not placed upon the church until after 1711: in which year the roofs of these portions of the church were destroyed by fire. It is plain, however, from Hollar's prints, that the new roofs, as restored after the fire and

¹ In 1475, John Warsoppe, vicar choral, leaves "to the fabric" 40s.: *Reg. No.* 3, p. 112. In 1482, Thomas Baxter, chantry priest, leaves "to the fabric of the church" 6s. 8d.: *Ibid.* p. 217. In 1490, Nicholas Knoll, chaplain, leaves "to the works of St. Mary, for the great Campanile", 6s. 8d.: *Ibid.* p. 124. In 1498, George Ratclyffe, of Southwell, leaves "to the fabric" 6s. 8d.: *Ibid.* p. 128. In 1499, Richard Roper, parish vicar, leaves "to the fabric of the great Campanile", 10s.: *Ibid.* p. 127. In 1525, Agnes Barra leaves "to our ladic works, two leads that stands in her wherne house": *Ibid.* p. 246. In 1527, Robert Barra, canon of Southwell, leaves "to the fabric" 40s.: *Ibid.* p. 108. And in 1534, John Marshall, rector of South Wheatley, leaves "to the mother church of Suthwell, to our ladic is works", 6s. 8d.: *Ibid.* p. 231.

still existing, are of the same form externally as their predecessors. The same probably is true of the present flat ceiling; which, in all likelihood, was one work originally with the lowered roofs.

It was not, however, until the commencement of the present century, that the lofty leaden spires were removed, which up to that time had surmounted the western towers, as seen in Hollar's views, and in the engravings in Dickenson's *History of Southwell*. The dangerous condition of these towers, it was considered, rendered the removal of the spires absolutely necessary. This was done in the spring of 1801. Within a few years afterwards, the last remnant of the fine old high-pitched roofing, the lofty spire-like roof of the chapter-house, suffered the same fate; and its present stunted successor was substituted. Amongst other repairs, occupying the first ten years of this century, the choir received the present side stalls, and pewing, and galleries.

I have done. If it be considered that I have contributed, in any way or degree, towards throwing a better light upon the subject of this paper, I shall be glad and proud. But I shall be more glad, and I shall suffer but little from mortified vanity, if I find that I have but been displaying all the while my own ignorance; if it prove that there are some of the learned archæologists of the Association which I have the honour of addressing, who, in their researches amongst ancient records, have met with the materials of a full and complete history, instead of the meagre fragments which are all that I have been able to set before them.¹

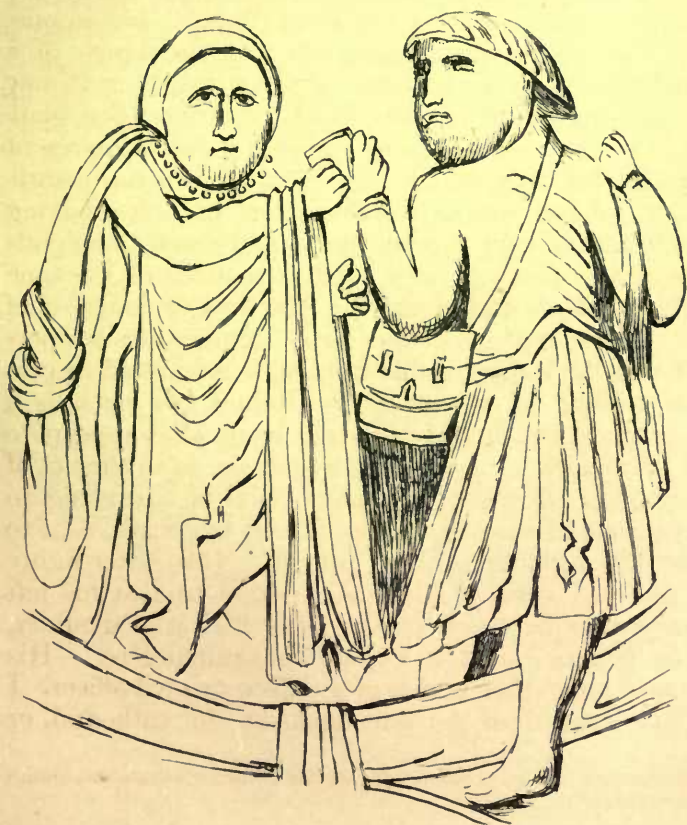
¹ All that I can pretend to have done is this. I have thoroughly gone through all the manuscript records still remaining at Southwell; this has been an amusement of idle hours for years; little, if anything, as to the fabric, I may venture to say, is left here for future gleaners. I have also procured all that I could from York, so far as Torre's *Collectanea* guided me. And I have searched such of our ancient historians in print as I have been able to lay my hands on, and such more modern ones as I thought at all likely to contain anything to the purpose. Much, however, for what I know, may still remain to be gathered from the published works of our ancient writers, which I have had no power of consulting, and very much, perhaps, from manuscripts in the various repositories of our ancient records. I would mention especially, as likely to afford materials for a better history, the York registers in the British Museum, and the ancient biographies of the archbishops of York, which, I believe, are there or elsewhere in being in manuscript. Would any archæological explorer who has already met with, or may hereafter meet with, any facts relating to the church of St. Mary of Suwell or Suthwell, kindly communicate them, or the place where they are to be found, he should receive the warmest thanks of a warm lover of archæology.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL GLEANINGS AT LINCOLN AND SOUTHWELL.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., HON. SEC.

ON one of the clusters of columns on your left hand, as you enter the great west door of Lincoln cathedral, two figures are sculptured which attracted my attention, from the fact of being the only representations of human forms in natural attitudes I could discover amongst all the elaborate ornamentation of that beautiful portal. The entire column is sculptured in circles containing monsters, grotesques, and various animal and floral devices: but in one, towards the top of the column, are seen the figures of a man and woman in the costume of the eleventh, or it may be of the beginning of the twelfth century. (See plate 35, fig. 1). The female is evidently intended to represent a personage of distinction. She is attired in the mantle and kirtle of the Anglo-Norman ladies, the latter having sleeves tight to the wrist, with the preposterously long cuffs or appendages that are seen in illuminations of the time of William Rufus and Henry I. Her vest or *couvre-chef* is also so long that, as in the same illuminations we perceive it was the indispensable fashion, it is knotted to prevent its trailing on the ground.¹ Round her neck is a chain or necklace, and in her right hand what appears to me to be a book or a charter, which she is in the act of presenting to the male personage, who is advancing to receive it, one of his legs being without the circle, as if to indicate his stepping forward into it. This latter figure wears the civil dress of the same period, and at his left side, suspended by a belt passing over his right shoulder, hangs a pouch, called a *gypsere* or *aulmonière*. His appearance altogether is that of a citizen or civil officer. I could not learn from the attendants at the cathedral, or

¹ Plates xxxviii and xl of Strutt's *Habits and Dresses* illustrate this absurd fashion completely.



from the worthy mayor of Lincoln, whose knowledge of and interest in such matters are well known, that attention had ever been previously called to these figures, or that any observation had been made upon them by Professor Willis, or any other member of the Archæological Institute, during the Congress held by that Society at Lincoln in 1848, and no allusion is made to them in the paper on "Ancient Sculpture in Lincoln Cathedral," by Professor Cockerell, published in "the Proceedings of the Institute" for that year; I am therefore left wholly to my own judgment as to the probable signification of this sculpture. That it has a meaning, I think cannot be doubted, and that the artist intended to pourtray some historical fact I have little hesitation in believing. The probabilities are, also, I consider, in favour of that fact being a donation to the city or cathedral of Lincoln, by a lady of high rank. The seal of the countess Rohesia, wife of Gilbert de Gaunt, earl of Lincoln, exhibits the effigy of that lady, habited in a similar kirtle to that of the figure in question; the sleeves tight to the wrist, with the cuffs or terminations pendant to the ground, but no mantle over it. Of course, the correspondence in costume is simply illustrative of the period in which both seal and sculpture were executed, namely, the first half of the twelfth century, or from the death of Rufus in 1100, to that of Stephen in 1154.

While on this subject, I will call attention to a charter of William de Romara, earl of Lincoln, the first of that name, to St. Peter's of Beverley (6th of Stephen, 1141), quoted in the *History and Antiquities of Beverley*, vol. ii, p. 527. Dugdale calls the wife of the first William de Romara, Maude de Rivers; and Milles calls her Avis, i.e., Avicia or Hawisia; and in the above-named charter we find the latter to be correct; but the mother of William has generally been set down as Lucia, daughter of Ivo de Taillebois, who married, secondly, Ranulph Mischinus, or Briquesard, earl of Chester. Now, in this charter, William calls his mother, Beneslean, a singular name, if correctly quoted by the author of the work in which I met with it. "William de Romara, earl of Lincoln, to William, archbishop of York, and to his successors, etc. etc., for the salvation of me, and my wife and son, and for the souls of my father, and *Beneslean my mother*. . . . Badewise (Hadewis) the

countess, my wife, and William my son and heir, being willing and consenting to this reddition and gift." As the grant is proved, by a confirmation charter of Stephen, to be the manor of *Bennesley*, has it any connexion with the name?

In Mr. Winston's notice of the painted glass in the beautiful chapter-house of Southwell Minster, I perceive no mention of a curious subject, evidently, I think, heraldic; in a window on the north side. (See plate 35, fig. 2). It is an oak tree (*vert*?) eradicated and sprouting (*or*), between six boars, three and three, accosted, passant, *argent*: at least, so it might be blazoned. The subject is complete in itself, and I do not think it can have been a portion of any scriptural or legendary illustration, such as the Prodigal Son, or the Swine-herd of Evesham. The other remnants of stained glass in these windows are all heraldic; with the exception of the fragments of spires and crocketed pinnacles, which correspond with the general architectural ornaments of the building attributed to the time of Edward I. Amongst them are portions of the golden castles of Castille, recalling the memory of queen Eleanor: a lion rampant, *argent*, in a field, *gules*, that of John lord Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, a later addition, and circles of small leopards' heads, enclosing a large central one, which, if not royal, may possibly be badges of John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln (Temp. Edward IV.) But I should rather incline to their earlier and regal origin. I have a similar impression respecting this piece of the oak tree and the boars. "A stock of a tree coupéd and eradicated, *or*, with two sprigs issuant therefrom, *vert*," is included by Mr. Willement amongst the badges of Edward III, on the authority of a MS. in the Harleian Collection, No. 1073. The value of these heraldic MS. notes, is sadly lessened by the provoking practice of collectors omitting to state whence they were originally taken, so that we have no means of deciding which are truly ancient, and which are the ingenious conceits of the heralds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: but as it cannot be doubted that some were copied or described from contemporaneous examples or lists, now no longer existing, or which have at least disappeared, such statements acquire importance, when we light upon a relic of undoubted antiquity, bearing a marked resem-

blance to one of these unauthenticated drawings or descriptions. "A boar, *argent*", is a well-known royal English cognizance, it being the favourite one of Richard III, "that bloody and devouring boar," as Shakespere with his Lancastrian predilections has indelibly branded him. Sandford tells us this silver boar was a badge of the house of York, and that he had seen it subscribed "Ex honore de Windsor"; but this does not satisfy us as to its origin. We have still to discover, supposing that statement to be fact, how it came to be chosen as the symbol or badge or device of the honour of Windsor. We have in this piece of glass six boars *argent*, three on each side of the eradicated oak; and, if the painting be as early as the reign of Edward III, or perhaps Edward I, some clue to the derivation of the Yorkist badge may possibly be obtained from it.

The next subject of interest I shall call attention to, and one which appears also to have escaped the notice of previous visitors, is a piece of sculpture in the south aisle of Southwell minster. (See plate 35, fig. 3). It is the head of a regal personage, forming one of the corbels of the arch of a doorway originally communicating with the archbishop's palace. The mouldings and ornaments of this arch are dated, by Mr. C. Baily and other competent authorities, as late as the commencement of the fifteenth century, and I am bound to defer to their judgment; the style of hair and beard is otherwise so similar to that of examples of the fourteenth, that, at first sight, I was inclined to believe a new light was about to be thrown upon that mysterious and much-canvassed decoration, the collar of SS. The date assigned to the doorway, however, being not earlier than the reign of Henry IV, leaves the question, as far as origin goes, in the same state; but, nevertheless, the example it affords us of the mode of wearing the collar, is singular and highly interesting. Instead of laying on the shoulders, and being fastened in front by a sort of trefoil-shaped ornament with a ring, to which, but very rarely, a badge is found appendant, the collar (in this instance a strap of velvet or leather, with the letter S, either embroidered or in metal, sewed upon it at considerable distances one from the other), is buckled tight round the throat, and the end passed under, and then suffered to hang down straight, in the fashion of the garter.

The last, and perhaps most important discovery, if I may venture to use such a term, is that of the sculpture on the capital of a column in the organ-loft of the same glorious edifice, to which my attention was drawn by the rev. Mr. Dimock, on a second and quiet inspection, the Monday after the close of the congress. There is a group of three columns on each side of the organ, the capitals of which, with one exception, are sculptured with human figures. One of the three, on the south side, presents us, undoubtedly, with the entry into Jerusalem; another appears to represent either the nativity or the resurrection, according to the opinion that may be formed of the centre object, resembling equally a cradle and a sarcophagus, surrounded by persons who are raising their hands in adoration or astonishment. The third, the centre one, is the exception above mentioned, and exhibits the lamb and the dove, together with some floral ornaments. On the north side, the capital of one column displays "the Last Supper", and that of another, I presume, the apostles. The third exhibits a subject, which, if my conjecture be well founded, may go far to settle the disputed question concerning the date of the earlier portion of the minster. An ecclesiastic of rank, a bishop or archbishop, is seen within a building, which he appears to be consecrating; beyond him is a saint, bending reverentially before the Trinity, and the subject terminates with the figure of a female holding a lily, and that of a child or smaller personage immediately behind her. My suggestion to Mr. Dimock, and one which he was pleased to consider as by no means improbable, was, that this sculpture represented the consecration of the second church by archbishop Thomas, who I take to be intended by the ecclesiastic attired *in pontificalibus*; the saint being Paulinus, the founder of the first church, supplicating the protection of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the new edifice; and the female with the lily, the Virgin Mary, to whom the church is dedicated ("ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ de Suwella"); the smaller figure, if not a repetition of the Saviour as an infant, being still unexplained. However wide of the mark my speculations may be on this and the previous subjects, I consider myself fortunate in being the first, as I believe, to bring such curious and interesting remains under the notice of anti-

quaries generally; and trust that the perfect elucidation of them by some member or members of the British Archaeological Association may be one of the gratifying results of our visitation of the county of Nottingham.

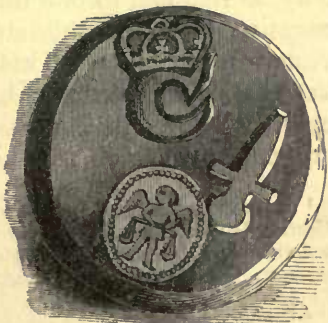
ON THE ANTIQUITY OF MARKING AND STAMPING WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

PARTICULARLY RELATING TO THE CITY OF LONDON.

BY THOMAS BREWER, ESQ., SECRETARY OF THE CITY OF LONDON SCHOOL.

FOUR tradesmen's weights have been recently dug up in the city of London, which are worthy of the notice of those who take an interest in the relics of a past age. They were discovered, in the month of September last, by the workmen engaged in clearing the foundations of a public-house in Trinity-lane, called the "Peacock", directly behind Gerard's Hall (and which foundations were antecedent to the fire of London), pulled down for a public improvement, and are now possessed by Mr. Abbott, who keeps the "Pea-hen" public-house in Little Trinity-lane. They appear to be made of lead, and to have been originally, two, a quarter of a pound, and the other two, half a pound, weight. They are similar in form to many weights of the same description in use at the present time, and are each of them marked or stamped on the upper surface with three different stamps, as attestations of their validity. One of them is a crown, surmounting a Roman letter c (the initial of Charles I, as the reigning sovereign at the time the weights were made); another, the dagger of the city of London (as a proof that the weight had been tested by the city authorities); and the third, a winged figure of Justice, holding a pair of scales, which, in all probability, is either the



mark of the maker,¹ or that of the Plumbers' Company, who, by a charter of James I, are empowered to assay and mark all solder and *weights of lead*, made or sold by any of their members (a power similar to that given, by another charter of the same king, to the *Founders' Company*, with respect to the weights of *brass*). The weights now exhibited are undoubtedly of lead; and the mark in question corresponds with that still in use by the Plumbers' Company for stamping solder (the only article which they now mark). Weights made of lead, pewter, or other soft material, being prohibited by an act of parliament passed in the year 1835 (5 and 6 Wm. IV, c. 63, sec. xiii).

The weights in question are deserving of notice, both on account of their antiquity and their great rarity. They are evidently two centuries old at least, and, as far as is known, are unique specimens; they must have been in use some time before the great fire of 1666, and probably owe their preservation to being buried in the ruins of that destructive visitation.

It will, perhaps, not be inappropriate to add a few remarks on the ancient custom, which is so well exemplified by these relics, of giving authorisation to weights and measures by imprinting upon them certain marks or stamps. Blackstone, in his admirable *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (book 1, chap. vii), after remarking that, for the advantage of the public, weights and measures ought to be universally the same throughout the kingdom, being the general criterions which reduce all things to the same or an equivalent value; and shewing the necessity for recourse being had to some visible, palpable, material standard, by forming a comparison with which all weights and measures may be reduced to one uniform size,—states that the prerogative of fixing this standard was by our ancient law vested in the crown.² This standard, he says, was originally kept at Winchester; and the laws of king Edgar,³ near a century before the Conquest, contain an injunction that the one measure which was kept at Winchester should be ob-

¹ The shop of Messrs. De Grave and Co., scale and weight makers, in St. Martin's-le-Grand, was formerly known by the sign of the "Angel and Scales"; and the same sign was also adopted at another ancient establishment in the same trade, kept by Thomas Overing, "in Bartholomew-lane, near the Royal Exchange".

² Grand Coustumier, c. 16.

³ Cap. 8.

served throughout the realm. The standards being originally fixed by the crown, their subsequent regulations have been generally made by the king in parliament: thus, under Richard I, in his parliament holden at Westminster, A.D. 1197, it was ordained that there should be only one weight and one measure throughout the kingdom, and that the *custody of the assize, or standard of weights and measures*, should be committed to certain persons in *every city and borough*.¹

It is worthy of remark, that the execution of this statute was committed by the king to the *sheriffs of London and Middlesex*, whom he commanded to provide measures, gallons, iron rods, and weights, for standards, to be sent to the several counties.²

In king John's time, this ordinance of Richard I. was frequently dispensed with for money,³ which occasioned a provision to be made for enforcing it in the great Charters of John, and his son Henry III.⁴ These original standards were called "pondus regis",⁵ and "mensura domini regis",⁶ and are directed, by a variety of subsequent statutes, to be kept in the Exchequer, and all weights and measures to be made conformable thereto.

Of the statutes here referred to, the earliest is that called "statutum de Pistoribus," etc., (Statute concerning Bakers, etc.), which is variously attributed to 51 Henry III (1267), and 13 Edward I. (1285).⁷ This statute directs that the standard of bushels, gallons, and ells shall be sealed with the iron seal of the king, be safe kept under a penalty of £100, and no measure shall be in any town unless it do agree with the King's measure, and be marked with the *seal of the commonalty* of the town. If any do sell or buy by measures unsealed, and not *examined by the mayor and bailiffs*, he shall be grievously amerced; and all measures in every town shall be viewed and examined twice in the year.

It further directs that standard measures shall be in the custody of the *mayor and bailiffs*, and six lawful persons of the same town, being sworn, before *whom all measures shall be sealed*.

This appears to be the earliest statute that refers in ex-

¹ Hoveden; Matthew Paris.

⁴ Magna Charta, 9 Hen. III, c. 25.

² Entick's *Hist. of Lond.*, i, p. 119.

⁵ Cowell's *Interpreter*.

³ Hoveden, A.D. 1201.

⁶ Fleta, 2, 12.

⁷ Statutes of Realm, by Record Commissioners, vol. i, p. 202.

press terms to the power of mayors and other local authorities to make use of a seal or mark, and it will be observed, that it only refers to *measures*, and makes no mention of *weights*. When we consider, however, that the object of all the laws on the subject was the promotion of the public weal, and the prevention of fraud, it seems reasonable to conclude, that, *practically*, the *custody* of the *assize or standard* of weights and measures, when committed to municipal and local authorities (of which we have seen a much earlier instance in the before mentioned ordinance of Richard I.), carried with it the power of *examining and comparing* with the standard, all weights and measures in their respective jurisdictions, together with the incidental authority to *verify* such as were found correct, by *attaching a seal or mark*; unless this were the case, it seems difficult to understand what good end would be answered by the course adopted. We may therefore infer, that although this was the first *statutory notice* of the practice, it was not the primary *origin* of it.

The subsequent statutes, of which a list is subjoined, together with various writs and letters patent of the king, mostly relate to the enforcement of a general uniformity in weights and measures, according to the king's standard. One of them, however, is worthy of specific notice here, because it contains a more *express provision* with regard to the *sealing* or stamping of *weights* as well as measures, than is to be found in any preceding statute; it is 7 Hen. VII, c. 3, A.D. 1491. It enacts, that standard measures and weights of brass, shall be delivered, by indenture from the lord treasurer, to the representatives in parliament, or the chief officers, of the cities, towns, and boroughs, of every shire, to be conveyed at the cost and charges of such cities, etc., and to be delivered to, and remain in, the custody of the mayors, or other chief officers of the same, and their successors for ever, to the intent that as well all measures and weights within the said cities, etc., may be corrected, reformed, amended, and made, according and after the measure of the said standard. And that the said chief officer for the time being, in every such city, etc., have for that cause a *special mark or seal*, to *mark every such weight and measure*, so made, to be reformed and brought unto him without fraud or delay; and that he take for his labour for

sealing of every bushel, a penny; of every other measure, a halfpenny; of every cwt., a penny; of every half cwt., a halfpenny; and of every weight under, a farthing, and not above, upon pain to forfeit for every time that he refuseth or doeth the contrary, forty shillings.

Four years after the date of this statute, viz. in 1495, 11 Hen. VII, c. 4, another was passed, containing similar enactments, but with some additional clauses, to the following effect, viz: that every mayor, etc., having the standard weights and measures, should have authority to make a sign, and print (that is, a seal or mark), with the letter H crowned, *to sign and print* like weights and measures unto every the king's lieges and subjects duly requiring the same.¹ That no person within any city or market town buy nor sell, with any weight or measure, *except it be marked*, signed, or printed, in manner and form aforesaid. That the mayors, etc., of every city, shall cause twice in the year, or oftener, as they shall think necessary, all weights and measures within the said cities, etc., to be brought before them, and to be duly viewed and examined; and such as they shall find defective immediately to be broken and burnt; and the parties offending to forfeit, for the first time six shillings and eightpence; the second time, thirteen shillings and fourpence; and the third time, twenty shillings, and to be set in the pillory.

A schedule to the act contains the names of towns limited for the safe custody of weights and measures, according to the king's standard, for the shires; amongst which are, for

Middlesex, - - - Westminster,

London, - - - The same city, (i.e. London.)

The following year another act was passed to amend this last act; it declares that the weights and measures provided having proved defective, they should be returned to the Exchequer, and new ones issued.

Having thus referred to the earliest known enactments of the English parliament on the subject, it is unnecessary to follow the inquiry minutely through subsequent statutes. It is well known that the practice of stamping or marking,

¹ A similar device has been used ever since. The mark on the weights mentioned at the commencement of this paper, have the letter C crowned; and the marks in use at the present day have the letter V surmounted in the same way.

which has occasioned these observations, still continues to our own times, and that the act passed in 1824, (5 Geo. IV, c. 74), which established the present uniform and "imperial" weights and measures, has, with several subsequent acts, provided a more systematic supervision than had ever before existed.¹

Although it is satisfactory to be able to trace to any extent the course of legislation on a subject of so much importance as this, it will be right to observe, that it is not pretended that the supervision of which we have been speaking, has been traced to its origin. The extreme antiquity of the use of weights and measures, and the absolute necessity that must always have existed for a power being lodged somewhere to *ensure their rectitude, would render* such an attempt utterly fruitless. The Old Testament scriptures contain frequent denunciations against those who, amongst the Jews, made use of false weights and measures. The laws and institutions of all other ancient states, would probably be found to contain some provision on the subject. Amongst the Romans, we know that the *cœdiles*, who belonged to the class of the *minores magistratus*, included in their public duties the superintendence of markets, taverns, etc.; that they inspected what was offered for sale in the forum, and *broke unjust weights and measures*. "*Vasa minora frangebant.*" (Juv. Sat., x. 102).²

In our own country, the ancient leet juries, in the courts of frank pledge, which formed part of the institutions established by Alfred the Great, were enjoined, in the articles of their charge, amongst other things, to inquire and declare upon their oaths, "of every breach of the assize, of bread, beer, wine, cloths, *weights, measures*, beams, bushels, gallons, ells, and yards, and of all false scales, and of those who have used them."³

The practice of assigning, adjusting, and marking weights and measures, may, therefore, be said to be one of immemorial antiquity. In England a similar supervision

¹ The act of 5 Geo. IV, c. 74, enumerates and repeats about sixty preceding acts. It has itself been altered and amended by 6 Geo. IV, c. 12; 4 and 5 Wm. IV, c. 49; and 5 and 6 Wm. IV, c. 63. The last two contain provisos expressly saving the rights of the city of London with respect to stamping or sealing weights and measures, etc., and also those of the Founders' Company.

² Carr's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 139; Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

³ Horne's *Mirror of Justice*, temp. Edward II, chap. I, sec. 17.

to that which exists now has probably, from the very earliest times, been exercised by the local authorities of every part of the kingdom; and we may reasonably conclude that the city of London, through her ruling magistrates, whether aldermen, portreeves, bailiffs, or mayors, would be one of the first communities to possess and exercise the powers in question, which, like many other salutary powers,—although they may have been at various times the subject of legislative regulation,—are of an origin far more remote than any existing *written law*, and form part of that *lex non scripta*, the *unwritten* or common law, which is so important a feature in the legal system of England, and which is so well discoursed on by Blackstone in the introduction to his *Commentaries* (sec. 3).

In the *Report* of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Municipal Institutions of the city of London, the right of adjusting and stamping weights and measures is spoken of as “a power belonging to the corporation *by custom*, and different statutes”.¹ It may be added, that it is exercised at the Guildhall under the superintendence of the hall keeper, whose duty it is to employ proper persons for the purpose, and to receive and account for the fees taken in respect thereof.² The fees which are now received were settled and established by authority of the Court of Common Council in 1844.³

Many other particulars might be added to shew in what manner the authority vested in the city functionaries for preventing the use of defective or fraudulent weights and measures has been exercised at various times; but as they might extend this paper to an inconvenient length, it will, perhaps, be better to draw it to a close here. At the same time, in order to preserve such information as he has gathered on the subject (and which may be interesting to any one who may desire to pursue the matter further), the writer subjoins the other results of his inquiries, in the form of an appendix.

¹ Report of Corporation Commissioners, 1837, p. 118.

² Minutes of Common Council, 29 July 1824, p. 152; and Report of Corporation Commissioners, p. 158.

³ Minutes of Common Council, 25 January 1844, p. 27.

APPENDIX.

IN the commission or precept annually issued by the lord mayor to each alderman, for holding his ward-mote, one of the articles (the 16th), is in these words :—

“And, also, that ye see all tiplers, and other sellers of ale or beer, as well of privy osteries, as brewers, and inn-holders within your ward, not selling by lawful measures, *sealed and marked with the City arms or dagger*, be presented, and their names in your said indenture be expressed with their defaults, so that the chamberlain may be lawfully answered of their amerciaments.”

An old copy of this precept will be found in a book written by Calthrop, recorder of London, entitled “*Ancient Customs and Usages of the City of London*,” (1670), p. 129; but the document itself is of much older date, as is also the “*Articles of the Charge of the Ward-mote Inquest*,” to be found in the same volume, (p. 151), and which contained there an article to the following effect :—

“33. Ye shall also make search in the shops and houses of all the chandlers, and of all others which sell by weight or measure, dwelling within your ward, and see that their scales be not one heavier than another, and that their weights and measures, as well bushels as lesser measures, as well those that they sell sea coals by, (which ought to be heaped), that they be in breadth according to the new standard, *sealed as all others*; and that all yards and ells that they be their just lengths, and sealed: that the poor and other his Majesty’s subjects be not deceived. And, further, if any do buy by one weight or measure and sell by others, and if in your search you find any false weights, measures, or scales, ye shall seize them and send them unto the Guildhall, to the chamberlain; and you shall also do the like if you shall find any that do sell anything by Venice weights,¹ contrary to the law and his Majesty’s proclamations, and present their names and faults.”

Another article is as follows :—

“Ye shall diligently make search and inquiry whether there be any vintner, inn-holder, alehouse-keeper, or any other person or persons whatsoever, within your ward, that do use or keep in his or their house or houses, any cans, stone pots, or other measures which shall be unsealed, and by law not allowed to sell beer or ale thereby; and whether they do sell any of their best beer or ale above a penny the quart, or any small ale or beer above a halfpenny the quart, and whether any of them do

¹ Venice weights were a trifle lighter than the English avoirdupoise weight. Kelly’s *Universal Cambist*.

sell by any measure not sealed : if there be any such you shall seize them, and send them to the Guildhall, to the chamberlain's office, and present their names and faults by indenture, so oft as there shall be any occasion so to do."

The *modern* articles of charge on these points, are to the same effect, though in fewer words, viz :—

"Ye shall diligently make search and inquiry whether there be any vintner, inn-holder, alehouse-keeper, or any other person or persons whatsoever, within this ward, that do use or keep in his, her, or their house or houses, any measures which be unsealed and by law not allowed, to sell wine, beer, ale, or other liquors thereby, and whether any of them do sell by any measures not sealed.

"And if any person within this ward do sell any goods, wares, or merchandizes, by false scales, weights, and measures."

Calthrop's book also contains a curious Act passed by the common council, "for the reformation of divers abuses used in the ward-mote inquests." It recites, first of all, what is the true object and intent of the inquests, and then the abuses which have crept in by their indulging in costly and sumptuous dinners, suppers, and banquets, and occupying their time in playing at dice, tables, cards, and such other unlawful games. It then goes on to recite, that "the said inquests have also of late usurped to dispense with such persons as they, by their search and otherwise, have found to offend and transgress the laws, in using and occupying of unlawful weights and measures, taking of the said offenders certain fines, as it is said the said inquests have commonly used to employ toward the maintenance of their said feasting and banqueting, directly against the due order of our sovereign lord the king's laws, and the public wealth of all his highness's subjects within the City, and much to the dishonour and reproach of the same city." For remedy and reformation whereof, an enactment was passed forbidding the abuses referred to, on pain of imprisonment, by the discretion of the lord mayor and aldermen for the time being.

The book entitled "*Lex Londinensis*," published in 1680, contains, on page 170, the form of a warrant which the lord mayor for the time being was accustomed to give under his hand and seal, to certain officers to try weights and measures ; it recites, that, "whereas great abuses are and have been committed in the city of London and liberties thereof, by using and keeping unlawful, unsealed, and unsized weights and measures, which are found to be very false and deceitful, and not warrantable by his majesty's laws, to be used in buying and selling ; and, whereas, many persons, inhabitants within this city and liberties thereof, do ordinarily use weights called or known by the name of Venice weights, not allowed or appointed by the laws of this realm, nor by any other lawful authority, and do usually buy by one weight and sell by another."

It, therefore, authorizes and appoints the persons to whom it is addressed, and either of them, at all and at every time and times fit and convenient, to enter into all shops, houses, warehouses, and other places within the city, where any beams, weights, measures, yards, ells, sacks for charcoals, and such like shall be suspected to be, and there to try and search the same, whether they be true, just, sealed, and sized, as by the law and statutes of the land they ought to be; and if they should find any false beams, or any unlawful unsealed or unsized weights, sacks, or measures, that then they should cause the same to be taken to Guildhall, there to remain until order should be taken for the defacing or otherwise disposing thereof, and certify to the lord mayor the names and dwelling-places of the offenders, that they might be dealt withal as to justice should appertain, and as the law required.

The ale conners, also, (who are annually elected by the livery in common hall), receive a deputation or warrant from the lord mayor, by which they are authorized and required "to enter in the day time into the houses of all such persons as shall sell beer, ale, or any other liquors by retail, within the city and liberties thereof, to search, taste, examine, and try whether the said liquors be good, wholesome, and fit for man's body, and that the same be sold in good and lawful measures, sealed and marked according to the standard kept at the Guildhall of this city for that purpose, in pursuance of the several statutes in that case made and provided.¹ And if they shall find any person or persons selling any unwholesome liquor, or selling the same in any unlawful measures, they are forthwith to give information thereof to the lord mayor, or some other magistrate of this city, in order that the person or persons so offending may be dealt with according to law."

Sundry references to, and extracts from, the City's Records and other sources, on the subject of weights and measures.

(*Liber L.*, circa temp. Hen. VII.) Measures to be sealed by an officer of the chamber, in the Guildhall.

1515. (*Rep. Boteler*, fo. 93, 113, 114.) All inhabitants in London to take new measures sealed in Guildhall.

21st Jan., 1533. 24 Hen. VIII. (*Lib. Leg.*, 186.) An act passed by common council about weights and measures.

1560. (*Rep. Chester*, No. 14, p. 468.) Order of the court of aldermen that the sealer of pewter measures shall break such as are short of measure.

1571. (*Jor. Allin*, 2nd, No. 14, fo. 10.) Title of the mayor and commonalty with respect to weights and measures.

¹ In the account of the duties of the ale conners, given in the report of the Corporation Commissioners in 1837, it is stated (p. 100) that the average number of ale and beer pots stamped per annum, is 5,599 dozen.

1582. (*Entick's Hist. of London*, vol. ii, p. 64.) "By some accident the city had lost their standard weights and measures, by which they were not able to redress and prevent frauds, in the sale of goods and merchandize, therefore Sir James Harvey, the mayor, wrote a letter to the lord treasurer, for his advice and assistance to remedy the abuses that were crept in on that occasion. But his lordship took no notice of this application. Wherefore, the next lord mayor pressed the lord treasurer more strongly; in which letter the mayor alledges, 'that for lack of order 'to assize weights, the commonwealth taketh detriment, and private men 'presume, without order, to sell and use unlawful weights, both in the 'city and in the country, that are accustomed to take their assize from 'hence.' This was dated the last of July, 1583."

30th Jan. 1583-4. (*Book of Letters from Lords of the Council*, §c., No. 563, p. 288.) Another letter from the lord mayor to the lord high treasurer, requesting that some order may be taken for the assizing of weights in the city.

16th Apr. 1591. (*Book of Letters*, No. 607, p. 310.) A letter from the lord mayor and aldermen to the lord high treasurer, containing divers reasons against complying with a request made to him by the company of Founders, for compelling persons to use brass weights instead of leaden ones.

1598. (*Rep. Soame*, No. 24, fo. 469.) Order of court of aldermen for turners to sell no measures but such as shall be sealed at Guildhall.

1600. (*Rep. Rider*, No. 25, fo. 237.) An order of the same court for the hall-keeper to seal no measures but such as agree with the standard.

1601. (*Rep. Garrard*, No. 26, p. 6, 20.) A warrant to be made under seal of the mayoralty, to Robert Smith, to receive certain standards and measures out of the Exchequer; and divers received accordingly, and delivered to the chamberlain.

1606. (*Rep. Watts*, No. 27, 28, fo. 102.) The keeper of Guildhall ordered by the court of aldermen, to deliver a standard quart and pint to the company of Cooks.

1610. (*Jor. Craven*, No. 28, fo. 252.) A deputation from the lord mayor to several persons, to survey all the present weights, &c., within the city. [See an abstract of a deputation of this description, p. 27.]

8th Sept. 1614. 12 Jas. I. (*Rep. of Corporation Commissioners*, 1837, fo. 170.) James I, by charter of this date, granted to the Founders' company, that they should have and enjoy the sizing and marking of all manner of brass weights, made or wrought within the city of London, or within three miles' compass thereof, or which should be sold or kept for sale within the said compass, together with the view and search of all brass weights, and brass and copper works whatsoever, within such compass.

Under this charter, and the bye laws made by virtue of it, the weights are to be brought to the company's hall to be sized and marked, under a penalty of twenty shillings.¹ The master and wardens and their officers are empowered to take such allowance for sizing the weights as theretofore had been given and allowed for the same. They are also empowered to make searches within the before mentioned limits, and to seize and destroy deceitful weights. Persons impeding searches are to forfeit £10 for each offence. No weights are to be exposed for sale unless marked under the following penalties, viz: first offence, six shillings; second, twelve shillings; third, eighteen shillings; and fourth and every subsequent offence, twenty shillings.

The commissioners add the following remarks:—

“The weights being brought to the hall, the powers of search are not generally exercised, but the company has not abandoned them.

“Notwithstanding the limits of the jurisdiction only extend to the city, and three miles compass thereof, the weights stamped at the hall of the company have been generally circulated and used throughout the United Kingdom, during more than 200 years.

“The rights of the company are reserved in a recent act of parliament.”

16th Aug. 1615. 13 Jas. I. (*Lib. F. F.*, fo. 103.) An act of common council passed against false weights, balances, and scales.

13th Sept. 1620. (*Rep. Coke*, No. 34, p. 550.) Henchman admitted by the court of aldermen, sealer of weights and measures.

1622. (*Rep. Proby*, No. , fo. 169.) The court of aldermen voted £5 to a person for discovery of false weights and measures.

18th Oct. 1638. 14 Char. I. (*Luffman's Charters of London*, 1793, p. 251.) By charter of this date, the lord mayor, recorder, and the aldermen past the chair, were constituted justices of the peace, and empowered to hold sessions to inquire (amongst other things) of the abuse of measures and weights.

List of the Statutes and various Writs and Letters Patent of the King, referred to. (See page 312 ante.)

14 Edw. III. Stat. i, c. 12, A.D. 1340. Recites and confirms the clause in Magna Charta, that there shall be but one measure throughout the realm, and that it shall be of weights as it is of measures; and directs that the treasurer shall cause to be made certain standards of weights and measures, and send them into every county where such standards be not before sent; and two or more persons are to be appointed

¹ “The common and usual mark” of the company is described in the charter as being “*the form of an ever*”, which is one of the heraldic bearings on the company's shield of arms.

in each county, to survey that the weights and measures be according to the standard, with power of punishment, etc.

17 Edw. III. 1343. (*Cotton's Records*, p. 40.) It is enacted that good examination and correction be had in towns enfranchised, touching weights and measures, so that the statute may be duly observed.

18 Edw. III, (cap. 4.) 1344. Commissions to assay measures and weights repealed, and commissioners to account to the Exchequer.

25 Edw. III, (stat. v, c. 9, 10.) 1351-2. Weights and measures throughout England to be according to the king's standard in the Exchequer.

27 Edw. III, (stat. ii, c. 10.) 1353. To be one weight and measure through all the land, under penalties.

28 Edw. III. 1354. (*Cotton's Records*, p. 87.) It is enacted that weights and measures may henceforth be made in the town of London, so as all counties do accordingly conform themselves.

29 Edw. III. 1355. (*Cotton's Records*, p. 91.) Justices of the peace may determine of weights and measures.

31 Edw. III, (stat. i, c. 2.) 1357. Balances and weights, according to the standard of the Exchequer, to be sent to all sheriffs of England, and proclamation to be made through all the counties, that every man that will have such balances and weights shall come to the sheriff to make their balances and weights according to the standard, at their costs, without anything giving to the sheriff, to have assay or example of the said balances and weights, and that none shall sell nor buy by other weights under pain of punishment at the king's will.

34 Edw. III, (c. 5.) 1360-1. Justices of the peace shall inquire of weights and measures according to the statute 25 Edward III, stat. v, c. 9.

50 Edw. III. 1376. (*Cotton's Records*, p. 127.) That there be appointed a certainty of measures and weights according to the standard.

2 Rich. II. 1378. (*Cotton's Records*, p. 172.) The chancellor and scholars of the university of Cambridge, shall, for five years, in default of the mayor and bailiffs of the said town, have the punishment of all manner of victuals, measures, and weights, within the said town.

5 Rich. II. 1381. (*Cotton's Records*, p. 200.) A similar grant to the last.

13 Rich. II, (stat. i, c. 9.) 1389-90. There shall be one measure and one weight throughout the realm, except in the county of Lancaster, where it hath always been used to have greater measure than in any other part of the realm.

14 Rich. II, (c. 11.) 1390. The above statute confirmed.

16 Rich. II, (c. 3.) 1392-3. All the weights and measures throughout the realm to be according to the standard of the Exchequer, and the clerk of the market to have his weights and measures according to such

standard with him, when he makes the assay of weights and measures in any part within the realm.

8 Hen. VI, (c. 5.) 1429. Recites and confirms several former statutes for uniformity of weights and measures, and enacts, that every city, borough, and town, shall, under a penalty of £10, have a common balance with common weights, sealed, and according to the standard of the Exchequer, in the keeping of the mayor or constable, at which all the inhabitants that have not such weights, and other that have, if they will, may freely weigh without anything paying, taking, nevertheless, of foreigners, certain fees named.

11 Hen. VI, (c. 8.) 1433. The above statute to be proclaimed and executed, as well in the city of London as in all other cities, boroughs, and counties. A common bushel sealed and according to the standard to be kept in the same manner. The mayor of the city of London, and all other mayors and bailiffs of all other cities and boroughs, and justices of peace in every county, to have power to put all statutes and ordinances on the subject into force, and to hear and determine defaults, etc. The mayor of London, and other mayors, to be charged and sworn at the Exchequer to execute the statute, and to account for the forfeitures, etc.

7 Hen. VII, (c. 3.) 1491. This statute is quoted; see page 312.

11 Hen. VII, (c. 4.) 1495. This statute is quoted on page 313.

12 Hen. VII, (c. 5.) 1496-7. This statute is quoted on page 313.

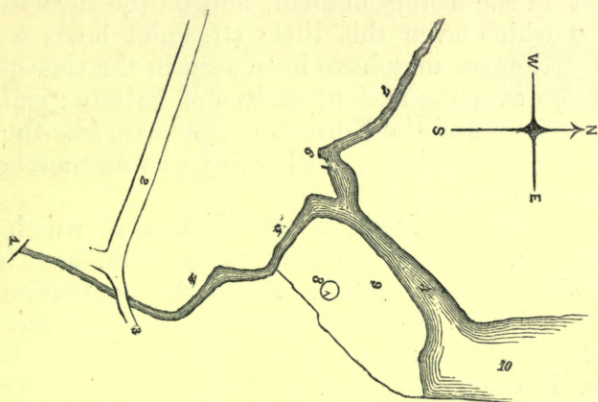
22 Car. II, (c. 8.) 1670. Directs that only Winchester measure, eight gallons to the bushel, shall be used for corn and salt. That mayors, etc., permitting the use of any other measure, or not punishing, be fined £5; they shall also be liable to a penalty for not sealing measures when required. A measure of brass to be kept chained in every public market place.

List of other authorities containing information on the subject, besides those quoted:—

Blackstone's *Commentaries*, vol. iv., p. 159, 275, 424; Jacob's *Law Dictionary*, "weights" and "measures;" McCulloch's *Commercial Dictionary*; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 7th edit.; Kelly's *Universal Cambist*; Newell's *Inquest Jurymen*, etc.

AN ACCOUNT OF COINS, ETC., FOUND IN A MARSH CONTIGUOUS TO NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT.

BY THE REV. EDMUND KELL, M.A., F.S.A.



1. Ford Mile.
2. High-street, Newport.
3. Coppins Bridge le Ryde.
4. Medina.
5. Warehouses.

6. The Quay.
7. Lukely Stream.
8. Gasholder.
9. The Marsh.
10. Medina to Cowes.

I BEG to offer to the Association a brief account of the discovery of some antiquities at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, found in the late excavation of a part of the Marsh contiguous to the river Medina,¹ for the purpose of making a gas holder at the new gas works erected by sir Augustus Hillary, bart., at the close of the year 1851. It should be mentioned, that this marsh is situated on a part of the bed of the old river. About seventy years since, a gentleman of the name of Knowles obtained leave of the corporation of Newport to rent this spot, and banked out the waters, confining the river to a narrow angular, but deeper channel. The marsh, until lately, was used for grazing. The new gas works are on a portion of this marsh, and, of course, on the site of the old bed of the

¹ See plan above.

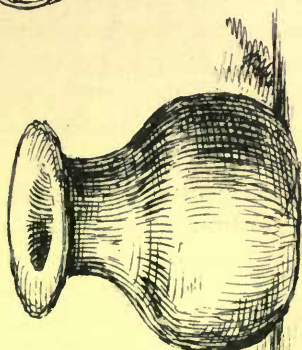
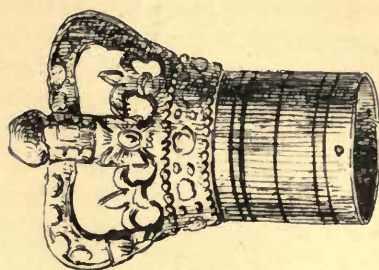
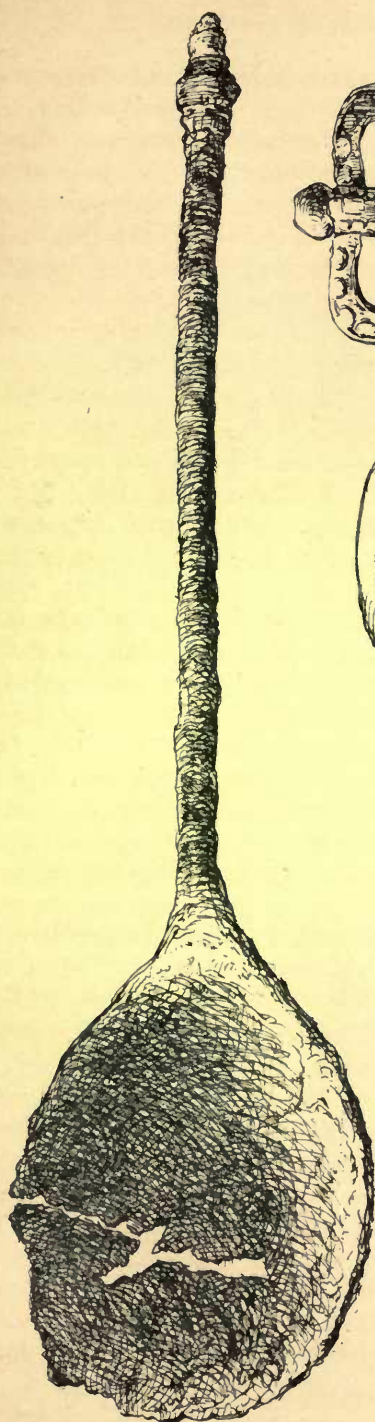
river. The various articles found were chiefly from a circular portion of it about fifty-four feet in diameter, excavated for the gasholder; the excavation reaching in depth about five or six feet through the superincumbent earth, into the old channel of the stream. We might reasonably suppose that in this excavation would be found the deposits of various eras, and accordingly, relics were discovered from the time of Nero, until the commencement of the reign of George III: leading the thoughtful mind to many a reflection on the various mutations which time has wrought in the history of man, and on the succession of races to which even this little streamlet bears witness. Here the Romans may have been seen in the time of their domination over the ancient natives of Britain; and here, too, the Saxon and the Norman tribes have, like the inhabitants of modern times, plied their barks for merchandise or for amusement.

The earliest coin found in the Medina of which I am in possession, and which I wish to mention, as it led me to give some little attention during the excavation, is a copper coin of M. Mæcilius Tullus, triumvir of the mint, in the reign of Augustus. [See plate 36, fig. 1.] On the obverse, it bears the head of Augustus, the legend of which is much obliterated. On the reverse is inscribed, M. MÆCILIUS TULLUS. III. VIR. A.A.A.F.F., obviously, *auro, argento, ære, feriundo, flando*. Of this triumvir of the mint nothing whatever is known, as his name only occurs on coins.¹ The coin was turned up from about a foot and a half below the bed of the river opposite Hurst Stake, October 25, 1849, by a fisherman, John Salter, while digging for shell fish, called here, pullers, (the *mya arenaria*) and from him I purchased it.

The first coin found in this spot, which I will call the gasholder excavation, was five feet below the surface, and is a second brass of the emperor Nero, in good preservation. In the obverse, is the head of Nero with the inscription. IMP. NERO CAES. AUG. P. MAX. TR. P. P.P. In the reverse, a winged genius, bearing a globe.

About a foot from this coin, on the same level, was a small bottle, which was not unlike the Roman glass vessel in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, pl. 9, fig. 7; but Mr.

¹ Smith's *Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. ii, p. 895.



C. Roach Smith refers it to a later date. It has been unfortunately broken, but a drawing of it which accompanies this paper, has been preserved. [See fig. 2.]

The next coin discovered there (by George Tiley) was a third brass of Constantine the great. On the obverse is the head of Constantine, with the inscription IMP. CONSTANTINUS P. F. AUG. On the reverse, SOLI INVICTO COMITI, with Jupiter standing. In the exergue, S. ARL. obviously, Signata Arelatum (Arles).

The next coin (following the order of dates) is a third brass of Constans. It bears, on the obverse, the head of Constans, with the inscription, CONSTANS P. F. AUG. and on the reverse, GLORIA EXERCITUS, with a soldier standing on either side the standard. This was found very recently by John Norris, among the rubbish of another excavation connected with the gas works, and nearer the river, opposite Messrs. Mortimer's wharf.

The last Roman coin from this spot is a third brass of Valens. The first part of the obverse is much obliterated, but portions of the name of Valens are discernible. The legend is D. N. VALENS P. F. AUG. On the reverse, a winged victory, with SECURITAS REIPUBLICAE. It is in the possession of Mr. John Locke, jun.

The object of interest next in point of time, is a spoon, of a mixed metal called latten, designated an apostle spoon, the end of the spoon being intended to represent the figure of one of the twelve apostles. Such spoons in sets of twelve were in the middle ages frequently presented on festal gatherings, at marriages, and at the baptism of children. [See fig. 3.]

The next coin brings us to the time of Edward I. It is a silver penny, marked, EDW. R. ANG. DNS. HYB. On the reverse, CIVITAS EBORACI. The mint is marked with a quatrefoil in the centre of the cross.

The last coin I shall mention, is a fine silver halfpenny of Edward III, having the effigy of the king on the obverse, and the legend EDWARDUS REX: reverse, CIVITAS LONDON.

In connexion with the finding of the silver penny of Edward I, it may be worthy of notice, that it is similar to the coins of that large collection of about four thousand silver pennies, found in digging for a drain on the premises of Messrs. Perress and Dallimore, No. 118, Castlehold,

Newport, on September 8th, 1850, and which must have been deposited there at or before the invasion of the Isle of Wight by the French, in the thirteenth year of Edward III. And here it may not be irrelevant to add a few remarks on the probable time when these coins were deposited, about which a difference of opinion has been expressed. Among these four thousand silver pennies, which were very carefully examined by Mr. J. Atkins Barton (and of which an interesting account is given by him in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. v, p. 365,) there were no coins but those of Henry III, Edward I and II, and two of Edward III, as duke of Aquitaine,¹ with contemporary princes, as Alexander III of Scotland, John Baliol, etc., nor were any other coins found than silver pennies or silver halfpennies. This determines the point that the deposit must have taken place before the thirteenth year of Edward III, who about that time had a fresh mintage, and in the course of his long reign, coined also the groat, the noble, and half and quarter noble, the florin, half-florin, etc. Had the deposit been made after the thirteenth year of his reign, it is certain that some of these coins would have been mingled with so large a hoard, for convenience, or incidentally. Now, circumstances point out a time with marked distinctness, when deposits for security would have been probable, namely, in the panic occasioned by the invasion of the French in the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward III, who had provoked France to this aggression, by laying claim to the French crown. The Isle of Wight was then much "frighted from its propriety", and, besides other measures of precaution, as the appointment of watchers and erection of beacons, penalties were inflicted for leaving its shores, except at three specified ports, and then not without licenses to prevent its inhabitants from deserting it.² In the repulse given to the French, who were driven off to their ships at St. Helens, the brave sir Theobald Russell, and others, were slain, and among the slain, or those fugitives who in terror left the island, might have been the careful mortal who had hidden

¹ According to Pinkerton, coins of this type were probably coined in his father's life time.

² Worsley's *History of the Isle of Wight*, p. 31.

his treasured wealth, but who never returned to tell the tale of its concealment. As no previous invasion of the island had occurred during the reigns of the first and second Edwards, there seems unquestionable certainty that this was the precise crisis when the coins were deposited on the site of Mr. Perress's premises, and *not* on the invasion of the island in the second year of the reign of Richard II, as has been conjectured by an excellent local antiquary,¹ Mr. T. H. Hearn. A complete collection of specimens of the various mintages there found, in number no less than thirteen, was kindly presented by Mr. Perress to the museum at Newport, where is also a halfpenny of Edward III, of the *dux Aquitanie* type, in excellent preservation, discovered in the same deposit, and presented by Mr. Stace. I regret to hear that of these valuable coins, as large a number as realized £30 were sold by weight merely as old silver, and have probably found their way into the smelter's pot.

I will not take up your space with the account of various coins of more recent date, found in the marsh, as these are of no rarity, but will now mention a few miscellaneous articles.

One of these is the coronal brass top of a staff; it is neatly executed, having apparently been cast, and probably formerly gilt, and may have been used as the insignia either of ecclesiastical or civil office. As it has long been the custom to perambulate the boundaries of the borough of Newport, and in so doing to walk through a part of the river at low water, it has been suggested that it might probably have been dropt by one of the officers in the performance of this perambulation. From its general appearance it has been conjectured to be of the time of the Charleses: from the crown being united at the top, it is certain that it is subsequent to the middle of the fifteenth century, when the double arched crown was first used. (See fig. 4.)

Another object of attention is a piece of crockery, the segment of the rim of a large dish or platter, which belongs apparently to the time of Henry VIII.

Fetters, of ancient and peculiar construction, found in

¹ British Archaeological Association *Journal*, vol. v, p. 365.

this spot, are perhaps more deserving of enumeration. They appear to be a portion of the shackles which were connected with an iron band passing round the waist, from which chains were attached to each arm and leg, so as to confine the movements of the prisoner, and by their great weight also proving an additional security against escape. Happily, the time for the employment of shackles of this description has passed away in our country. Would that it had also passed away in all the dungeons of Europe!

The objects of natural history disinterred, which claim attention, were two antlers of about two feet and a half in length, of possibly the original wild deer of the country, and tusks of the boar species, with horns of cattle, etc.

In closing my observations on this excavation, I would remark, that the comparatively large number of coins, and other objects of antiquarian interest, found in so small a space, may lead us to expect far more valuable spoil when, in the proposed deepening of the Medina, a larger portion of the bed of the river shall be excavated. May we not hope that besides the benefit which will accrue to the island generally, and to Newport especially, from this improvement, much information will be afforded to the lover of historical and antiquarian research?

I take this opportunity of mentioning a few other coins lately discovered in this neighbourhood. I have a Greek coin found some years ago opposite the house of Mr. James Dyer, No. 59, Pyle-street, Newport, at a considerable depth below the surface, by a labourer, while turning out the earth for the common sewer. Mr. Dyer was standing by at the time, and obtained it by giving a good penny-piece for what the man termed "a bad ha'penny". This coin has on the obverse a laureated head of Jupiter, and on the reverse a naked warrior, with the inscription MAMEPTINON much obliterated, but identified by a comparison with a beautiful coin of the same kind in the Museum at Newport, of which the inscription is legible.

I have also a fine coin, in second brass, of Domitian, found last November, at No. 96, in Castlehold, Newport, by Mrs. Susan Morris, as her husband was turning out earth to the depth of about three and a half feet for a linen post near an ancient wall in their garden. On the obverse is the head of Domitian, with the legend IMP. CAES. DOMIT.

AUG. GERM. COS. XIII. CENS. PER.P.P., and on the reverse a female figure with FORTUNAE AUGUSTI.

At Clatterford, in the vicinity of Carisbrooke Castle, Roman coins have been found at various times. One, in second brass, in my possession, obtained two years ago by Mr. H. D. Cole, Jun., in a field opposite Bellevue, which was being converted into a garden, is of Faustina the elder, wife of Antoninus Pius. It has on the obverse her head, with the inscription FAUSTINA AVG; and on the reverse AETERNITAS, with a figure standing. I have also a coin, in second brass, of her daughter Faustina the younger, the wife of Marcus Aurelius, likewise found at Clatterford, presented to me by Mr. Alfred Mew. On the obverse is a fine head of Faustina, with the inscription FAUSTINA AUG. PII. AUG. FIL. On the reverse, an image of Faustina, bearing the hasta pura, surmounted with a ball, with the words LAETITIAE PUBLICAE. The same gentleman also put into my possession a Posthumus (small brass) from the same place. The inscription round the head is imperfect. On the reverse are the letters PAX AUG., and a figure of Peace, with the hasta pura (the pointless spear) reversed, beautifully indicative of the idea of peace. I may also add that four coins (small brass) were given me lately by Mr. B. Bull, of Ventnor, which his workmen found in getting out the stone to build Gouldwell House in that place. One is of Claudius Gothicus; the other three, probably of the same period, are illegible. The discovery of the above coins, in conjunction with the ampulla of 600 coins found in 1833 at Shanklin, and of those, in quantity nearly a gallon measure, in Barton wood, about the same time, together with the collection in the Museum at Newport,¹ and various other coins, in the possession of other gentlemen, illustrate the position that the Romans were more extensively in the Isle of Wight than has been usually supposed by historians. Suffering as they did from the inclemency of the English climate—often brought by it to a premature grave—and lovers of the marine scenery of their own land, is it not probable that they sometimes sought these lovely

¹ In this museum (of which the writer has been more than twenty years a curator) are arranged and described nearly one hundred and fifty Roman and Greek coins found in the Isle of Wight, which are well deserving the attention of the numismatist.

and sheltered spots for the purpose of health and recreation? The beautiful Roman armilla, found with a skeleton in 1845 at Ventnor, figured in Akerman's *Archæological Index*, plate 13, fig. 25, the urns found in barrows on Rew Down, and elsewhere, at the back of the Isle of Wight, by Archdeacon Hill, which, in his opinion, were "decidedly Roman", with the "sepulchral urns inclosing the remains of incinerated bones",¹ recently discovered in preparing the ground for building at Mountfield, Bonchurch, seem to indicate that this supposition is not altogether without support.

The Roman saw thy waters ebb and flow,
 Flush, and with quick and fiery sparkles glow
 Primeval woods and dewy glades between :
 He saw the water-weed wave to and fro
 Amid the lucid lapse, in glossy sheen ;
 And own'd a pensive power, a purity serene.²

ON THE FIELD OF CUERDALE.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A.

I AM anxious to engage the attention of the Association for a few minutes, while I endeavour to present you with a brief description of that very interesting locality, the field of Cuerdale, and to detail some of the discoveries which the last few years have brought to light. I wish, also, to rescue some minute particulars, which cannot fail to be interesting to all antiquaries, connected with these discoveries, from certain and almost immediate oblivion. And, in order that my statements may receive due credence, I would premise that within two years after the most important of the discoveries, I was the curate of the ecclesiastical district in which the township of Cuerdale is situated, and that my accounts were received from the discoverers themselves, several of whom are now deceased.

¹ Dr. Martin's *Undercliff*, p. 359.

² Peele's *Fair Island*, p. 173, l. 4.

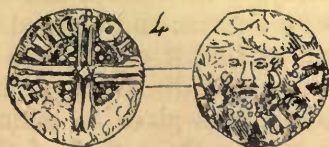
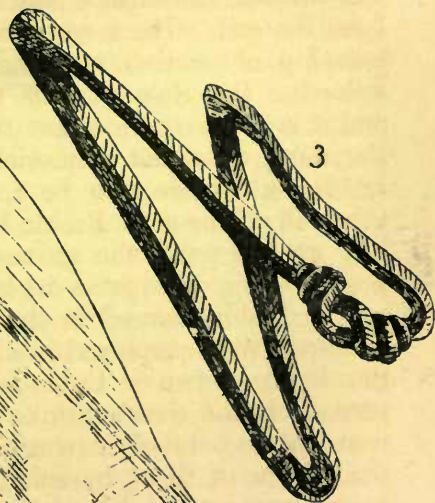
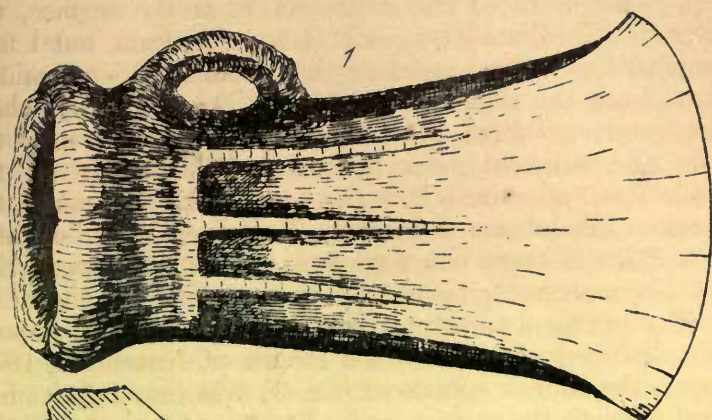
The township of Cuerdale is the smallest in Lancashire, containing not more than 500 acres, and possessing, according to the census of 1841, a population of 106 individuals. Though surrounded by the townships of Walton-le-Dale, Preston, and Samlesbury, it is, after this announcement, almost needless to remark, that, with the exception of a few handloom weavers in some of the cottages, it is of a purely agricultural character. The track which I wish to bring under your notice forms its northern boundary, and consists of about one hundred and fifty acres, of what a botanist would denominate an ovate form, bounded on the north by the river Ribble, and on the south by a line of high ground covered with wood from base to summit, along the top of which runs the old highway from Preston to Whalley. Standing in this highway, especially, perhaps, at the gate of the parsonage garden of Walton-le-Dale, the church of which is just behind, as lovely a view opens to the spectator as one could wish to look upon. The eye passes over the track which we are about to investigate, bounded by the winding river, and continuing onwards towards Ribchester, Whalley, Clitheroe, and Vendle, luxuriates in a scene which no one who has once beheld it can ever forget. From the base of this rising ground to the Ribble, the ground is very nearly level; maintaining a height of from nine to twelve or fifteen feet above the bed of the river, which is here shallow and easily fordable. The track is divided by some hedges of no great apparent age into several fields, the most of which are laid down in permanent pasturage. Within a circle of four hundred yards in these pastures most interesting discoveries have from time to time been made, one of which especially, I hardly need hint, has tended to carry the name of this otherwise little-known locality over all the world, and to invest it with an interest to which few other places in the north of England can lay claim. I shall proceed to submit to you the various discoveries in their chronological sequence; and I flatter myself that you will agree with me that very few spots, lying wide, as far as we know, of any ancient road or town, have furnished a more curious series than that which I have now the pleasure of laying before you.

The oldest remain was discovered first. In December

1838, some labourers employed in deepening a ditch turned up, between three and four feet from the surface, the British celt (Plate 37, fig. 1.) I do not inform, but I may remind some of my auditors, that the Sistuntii are said to have been the earliest possessors of Lancashire of whom we know anything: one of whose fortresses occupied the site of Castlefield, near Manchester. This part of the county fell afterwards into the hands of the Brigantes, the ancient inhabitants of Durham, York, and Westmoreland. To which of these tribes we may attribute the production of this implement, it is not, I believe, possible to determine.

Passing for a moment over the date of the most important discovery, I come to the month of November, 1840, when the Roman spearhead (fig. 2) was found about four feet beneath the surface, and a little more than three yards from the celt. Here we have a specimen of the workmanship of another age and another people. Speedily following the Roman came the Saxon rule in England; and it is of this period that these features have furnished the most abundant memorials. The fifteenth of May, 1840, is a day ever to be remembered in the annals of Cuerdale. The river Ribble had overflowed its banks, and had washed away the ground behind a wall, built some years before, to repress its inundations. In order to fill up the hollow caused in the manner just stated, several labourers were employed in digging and carrying earth to the depth of two or three feet, from a spot about forty yards from the river's brink. It was evening, and they were on the point of leaving their labour, when the attention of one of them, by name Thomas Marsden, since deceased, was attracted by what, as he described it to me, seemed to be small oyster-shells: they were round, flat, greyish-white objects, very thin, lying in a heap, and exceedingly numerous. He took up a piece, and scraped it, to ascertain its nature. On finding that it was a piece of silver money, and communicating his discovery to his fellow-workmen, a general scramble took place, to which, however, a period was speedily put by the arrival of the farmer, Mr. Jonathan Richardson, who tenanted the hall, distant but a few hundred yards from the scene of this extraordinary occurrence. He instantly had the whole mass, consisting of ingots of various sizes, several armlets

From Cuerdale, near Preston, Lancashire.



Drawn & etched by Thomas Hugo, MA 1852.

of silver, and a few other ornaments, amounting altogether to nearly one thousand ounces, together with upwards of seven thousand coins, (for an account of which, I cannot do better than refer you to the able paper of Mr. Hawkins, and the exquisite illustrations of them by Fairholt, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for July and October, 1842), and various portions of the decomposed leaden chest in which the treasure had been contained, conveyed to his house. The adjoining ground was thoroughly searched; and all the additional coins found, together with more specimens of ornament and ingot, were taken to the hall, and added to the former. They covered the floor of one of the sitting rooms. Before the workmen left the hall that night, Mr. Richardson obliged them to refund what they had appropriated; a feat of considerable difficulty, but said, nevertheless, to be successfully performed in all cases but one. This individual, whose name I need not mention, contrived to insert some specimens in his boots, and in this manner succeeded in carrying off not less than six-and-twenty. The rest gave up all that they had taken, and were then permitted by Richardson to retain one coin each, as a memento of the circumstance. On the same night, the coins, etc., were washed, and afterwards placed in a room to await the sentence of the steward: the landlord, W. Assheton, esq., being at that time absent from England. Though it is said that several collectors both in town and country were soon able to exhibit specimens, it is equally certain that nothing like a fiftieth part of the treasure was purloined; but that the great mass, with very little diminution, was eventually taken to the Preston bank, and from thence passed, by the command of her Majesty, into the hands of the chancellor and council of the duchy, "to be disposed of as they might deem most advantageous for the promotion of archæological and numismatic science." It is from this source that our public museums and finest collections have been supplied. I have in my possession a good series of these coins, including most of the pieces allowed to be retained by the workmen, as above stated, and among them that of Thomas Marsden, not only one of the discoverers, but the very first observer of the "find". One of these latter is a splendid specimen of an Alfred penny, with the name of

a previously unknown moneyer. Many of the rest were obtained through length of residence on the very spot soon after the discovery, and the offer of high prices. As no coin has been offered me for several years, and as enquiries most diligently instituted have for a very long time been wholly unavailing, I have reason to believe that the supply is totally exhausted, and that not a single specimen has escaped the persevering researches which have for so long a period been made.

Of this most interesting hoard, I have much pleasure in being able to exhibit a relic in the silver armlet, now on the table (fig. 3). Here we have undoubted Saxon work, which our Alfred himself might have seen and handled. The coins and ornaments were found about three hundred and eighty yards from the celt and spearhead; and, as was before stated, from two to three feet below the surface of the ground.

Within one hundred and forty years after the production of the latest of these coins, Norman rule superseded the sway of the Saxon. Of the earlier sovereigns, Cuerdale has furnished no memorial. But, in March 1845, a labourer dug up a penny of king Henry III, 1216-1272, coined at Lincoln (fig. 4). It was discovered within a few yards of the site of the famous Saxon "find".

Still later, in 1848, two other pieces were found, one about twenty and the other about fifty yards from the last mentioned. One of the pieces was a shilling of king Charles I, and the other of queen Anne. There was nothing in these to call for further remark.

I reserve for the last mention some very curious iron fragments which were dug up in the March of this present year, 1852. They were discovered about three feet beneath the surface, in a right line between the site of the Saxon coins, and of the celt and spearhead—about three hundred yards from the former, and eighty from the latter. They are considered to be fragments of a ring-bolt or fetter-lock; but I forbear to enter further into their peculiarities and probable age, as one of our body is kindly wishful to prepare a paper on this subject, which will be read to us at an early meeting, and appear in the next number of the *Journal*, together with a representation of the several pieces I have described as having been found at this spot.

When we look on the various memorials of times long past and over, which I have offered for your examination this evening, many questions of the deepest interest arise. I will, however, but add a word to this already too lengthy paper, and that shall be with reference to this difficult and interesting query: How are we to account for the proximity to each other of these remains, so widely divided in origin and in age? Here, discovered within a circle of three hundred and eight yards in diameter, we have the work of British, Roman, Saxon, and variously aged English hands,—the work of a time probably anterior to the Christian era—together with that of the first, ninth, thirteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries!

Will it be answered that this ground was formerly covered by water, and that there especially the earlier remains were transported in various ways, from unequal distances, and possibly remote localities, to this reservoir of wonders? The answer is beset with as many difficulties as the point which it seeks to elucidate. There is a tradition that Ribchester, some twelve miles higher up the Ribble, was in some ancient age a sea-port; but geological difficulties of the gravest kind are in the way of such an admission. This fact would oblige us to suppose the influence of some serious natural convulsion, which has changed the levels of the whole district. The Cuerdale field, as I stated before, is from nine to twelve feet, and in some parts more, above the shallow bed of the Ribble, a height too great to have been suddenly acquired without the action of some such convulsion, not a hint of which, so far as I know, is to be found in any record of any age. I do not, however, wish to dogmatize, but to court opinion. The question yet remains, How did these relics, representing so many and distant ages of the world, find their resting-place within such narrow limits? It is a question which has never yet been answered, though its conjecture and interest are indisputable.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—No. II.

ON THREE INEDITED LETTERS RELATING TO KING JAMES II
AND HIS FAMILY.

BY CHRISTOPHER LYNCH, ESQ.

A FEW introductory observations may be permitted in submitting to the notice of the Association the following three letters, being contemporaneous manuscript copies found in a volume endorsed "*Miscellanea antiqua*", purchased not long since at a sale in London, but which the contents sufficiently prove to have emanated from a library at Rome.

The first letter is from pope Innocent XI to Lewis XIV, it is in Latin, and conveys an approval of the cordial reception given by the French monarch to James II, king of England, on his retreat from this country.

The second is the reply of Lewis XIV to the pope, and of this there are two versions, one in Italian, the other in French.

The third letter is from lady Anna Vittoria Montecucoli, countess of Almonde, the early and constant friend of Mary Beatrice, of Modena, second wife of king James II; it is in Italian, and details the various plans which were concocted for the flight of the queen, the modifications which circumstances occasioned, and the ultimate method adopted; but there is nothing to indicate to whom the letter was addressed—no doubt to one of her friends in Italy.

It is well known, that when the penal laws were in full force against the Catholics of this country, they were compelled to establish seminaries abroad for the education of the clergy intended for the English mission; thus, establishments of this nature existed at Rome, Paris, Lisbon, St. Omer, Douay, etc., and it was natural that the inmates of these houses should take special interest in all that related to the exiled Stuart family, in whose restoration their hopes were at that time centred. Many valuable

manuscripts consequently found their way to, and were treasured in, these seminaries; and as the volume now in question contains, amongst other manuscripts and pamphlets relating to the affairs of this country, a manuscript life of St. Margaret, queen of Scotland, written in Italian, anno 1675, by William Leslie, a Scotch Jesuit at Rome, it is not improbable that it may have emanated from one of these houses.¹

Sir John Dalrymple, the historian, was well aware of the value of the manuscripts relating to James II and his descendants, which existed in the Scotch college at Paris; and with respect to them he observes: "the public cannot get a more important accession to the historical knowledge of the period to which they relate".

When the eminent statesman, Charles James Fox, undertook towards the close of his eventful life the onerous duties of a historian, he selected for his subject the reign of James II, as embracing that period when the various causes which led to the revolution of 1688 reached their culminating point. With the desire characteristic of a strong mind eager for truth, Mr. Fox spared no effort to gain access to original documents. He had learnt that the most important manuscript in the Scotch college at Paris, a journal in king James's own handwriting, had been unfortunately destroyed at the breaking out of the French revolution; nevertheless, in the year 1802 he proceeded to Paris, and there received certain confirmation from Dr. Gordon, the principal of the college, that the manuscripts in king James's own handwriting were no longer in existence,² but he learnt from another quarter, that other valuable papers had found their way to this country. Mr. Fox then obtained from the *dépôt des affaires étrangères*, copies of the correspondence between Lewis XIV and Barillon, his ambassador at the English court, a perusal of which will show how lively an interest Lewis XIV took in the "status" of the Roman Catholic religion in this country,³ and will serve to throw light on

¹ This MS. is dedicated, by the professors and scholars of the Scotch college at Rome, to the lady Olimpia Pamfili.

² The cause and manner of their destruction is detailed in a letter from Dr. Cameron, R. C. bishop at Edinburgh, to lord Holland, the editor of Mr. Fox's work. See Fox's *Life of James II*; 4to., London, 1808. Introductory address, fo. xxix.

³ See letter, dated 20 Feb. 1685, in appendix to Fox's *Life of James II*; fo. xxv.

the contents of the two letters between the pope and the French monarch.

The struggle during the reign of the two Charles's, had been mainly to determine what were the just prerogatives of the crown, and what the rights of the people; but the advent of James II to the crown, added to that still existing struggle another important element of dissension, a difference in religion between the king and the great bulk of his English subjects. It is not our province here to discuss the merits of these political or religious strifes, but simply to recall to the reader's attention the state of affairs when James sought refuge at the French court. Lewis had anxiously encouraged and supported Charles II in his contests with the Parliament. On the accession of James, the French subsidies were continued, and Barillon was specially instructed to report to his monarch the position of the Catholic religion in this country, and the letters now submitted to notice will tend to show that, amidst all the conflicting influences of European politics, the support of the Catholic religion was uppermost in the mind of Lewis XIV. Important differences had arisen between pope Innocent XI and that monarch. The pope had refused to recognize the hotel of the French ambassador at Rome as independent of his jurisdiction; he had declined to ratify the appointment of the Cardinal de Furstenburg to the archbishopric of Cologne, because that cardinal was in the French interest; he had encouraged the league of Augsburg, which the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Savoy, and other potentates had formed with the view of checking French ascendancy, and Lewis had retaliated by seizing upon the town of Avignon; nevertheless, when James took refuge at the French court, and was received by Lewis XIV with open arms and royal hospitality, the pope was so pleased at the reception given to the Catholic exile, that he addressed the following conciliatory letter to the French king, which was responded to in terms no less courteous than respectful.

I. INNOCENTIUS P. P. XI.

Carissime in Christo fili noster salutem, et apostolicam benedictionem; cum nos præcipue afficiat splendidum ac ab universis Christi fidelibus

¹ In this and the subsequent letters, the spelling of the originals has been made conformable to modern orthography.

majorem in modum commendandum confugium, quod, magnâ Britannîâ tumultuante, ejusdem regi, reginæque ac infanti principi effusâ nullisque conclusâ finibus munificentîâ præbuit majestas tua, muneris esse nostri duximus eas ad te gratæ responsionis testes dare literas; etsi autem non dubitamus quin pro pietate, ac paratâ ad magna quæque pro catholîcâ religione aggredienda perficiendaque amplitudine animi tui, præstantissimam prædicti regis causam cum quâ eadem religio conjuncta est, constanter juvare pergas; tantoperè, nihilominus, nobis cordi est et esse debet utriusque incolumitas, ut majestatem tuam pro explorato habere cupiamus, in partem nos venturos inclytorum operum quibus regi ipsi, nec non memoratæ religioni strenuè adesse curaveris, nec omissuros, assiduis enixisque votis divinam bonitatem etiam rogare ut merita quæ propositæ tibi veræ gloriæ mensuram implendo comparaveris, inexhaustis beneficentiæ suæ thesauris cumulatè tribuat, majestati verò interim tuæ apostolicam benedictionem amantissimè impertimur. Datum Romæ, apud sanctam Mariam Majorem, sub annulo piscatoris, die primâ Februarii [1689].

TRANSLATION.

Pope Innocent XI.

Our dearly beloved son in Christ, health and apostolical benediction. As we are in a most especial manner affected by the splendid hospitality, so particularly deserving the commendation of all faithful Christians, which your majesty, to the great exasperation of Great Britain, has extended with profuse and unlimited munificence to the king, queen, and infant prince of that country, we have deemed it our privilege to address to you these lines of grateful approval. And though we doubt not that you will continue firmly to support the glorious cause of that king so intimately linked with our religious faith, instigated thereto by motives of piety and a grandeur of soul ever ready to undertake and accomplish any great action in support of the Catholic religion, nevertheless, the preservation of both one and the other is to us an object of so much solicitude, and justly so, that we wish your majesty to receive undoubted assurance that we wish to share in those excellent proceedings by which you have so strenuously supported both the king and the cause of our religion, and that we shall not fail to implore the divine bounty in constant and earnest prayer to shower down abundantly from the inexhaustible treasures of his goodness, those rewards which you have earned in the full realization of that true glory which you had proposed to yourself. Meanwhile we most affectionately impart our apostolical benediction to your majesty. Given at Rome, at St. Mary Majors, under the fisherman's ring, this 1st day of February [1689].

II. REPLY OF LEWIS XIV TO THE POPE. FRENCH VERSION.

Au Pape, le 17 Fev. [1689].

Très St. Père: nous avons été bien aise de voir par le bref que votre

Sainteté nous a écrit le 1^{er} de ce mois qu'elle est bien persuadée du grand préjudice que la religion catholique peut souffrir de l'état où se trouve le roi de la grande Bretagne et de l'intérêt qu'elle doit prendre à son rétablissement, nous pouvons dire que quand même notre penchant naturel ne nous auroit point porté à donner à ce prince affligé tout le soulagement et la consolation qu'il pourroit attendre de notre amitié, nous aurions consacré au désir de conserver les restes de notre religion en Angleterre, et à la gloire de remettre le dit roi sur son trône, toutes les raisons politiques qui nous auroient pu obliger de lui refuser les secours dont il a besoin. Nous apprenons aussi avec bien de la joie que votre Sainteté ne prend pas moins à cœur que nous ces deux si justes sujets de son soin et de son attention, et nous voulons bien aussi partager avec elle le mérite du succès ; mais, même, nous verrons avec plaisir que toute la chrétiennté en soit principalement redevable à votre zèle, et que les ennemis de notre religion qui se sont ligués pour l'opprimer perdent enfin l'espérance que la conduite que votre Sainteté a tenue à notre égard leur donne depuis long temps qu'ils ne trouveront de notre part aucun obstacle à leur dessein, et qu'ils ne doivent rien apprehender que de la puissance que Dieu nous a mis en main à la quelle nous avons d'autant plus sujet de croire qu'il continuera de donner ses bénédictions, qu'il sait bien que nous n'avons rien omi pour rétablir une parfaite intelligence avec votre Sainteté et concourir avec elle à l'augmentation de notre religion et lui témoigner en toutes occasions notre respect filial, priant Dieu qu'il vous conserve dans un long régime de notre sainte église.

TRANSLATION.

To the Pope, 17th February [1689].

Most holy father. We have been much pleased to learn from the letter which your Holiness wrote to us on the first inst., that your Holiness is fully convinced of the great prejudice which the Catholic religion may sustain from the actual position of the king of Great Britain, and of the interest which your Holiness must take in his restoration. We may state that if even our natural bias had not induced us to afford to this afflicted prince all the succour and consolation which he might expect from our friendship, we would have sacrificed to the desire of preserving the remains of our religion in England, and to the glory of re-establishing the said king on his throne, all political reasons which might have induced us to refuse him that assistance which he needs. We learn also with much satisfaction, that your Holiness takes equal interest with us in these two objects so deserving of your Holiness' care and attention, and we are desirous also of sharing with your Holiness the merit of success. And, indeed, it will afford us pleasure to see that all Christianity should be indebted principally to your Holiness' zeal for this result, and that the enemies of

our religion who are in league for its destruction, should lose at last the hope which they have long entertained from your Holiness's proceedings towards us, that they would meet with no opposition from us in their designs, and that they have no other power to fear but that which God has placed at our disposal, and which we have the greater reason to think He will continue to bless, as He knows that nothing has been omitted on our side to re-establish a perfect understanding with your Holiness, and to act in unison with your Holiness for the increase of our religion, and to testify to your Holiness on all occasions our filial respect, praying God to preserve you many years in the government of our holy Church.

III.—LETTER FROM THE COUNTESS OF ALMONDE.

Bologna da Francia, 24 Decembre, 1688.

Quì arrivassimo ieri sera alle 6 ore incirca. Ora l'avisarò ciò che son stata obbligata sin ora tacere. Sappia dunque, che subito arrivata che fui a Londra la regina mi significò la necessità che aveva di partire di là, e come che considerava questo negotio da non risolvere senza una estrema necessità, con qual rispetto che io le devo mostrai alla maestà sua il mio sentimento; a che ella mi rispose, che io non era consapevole delle cose, e che ne parlassi coll' abbate Ricini acciò m'informasse, così feci, e da lui seppi il pericolo in cui era la regina, se più si tratteneva in Londra, essendo che l'assemblea del parlamento l'avrebbe senza fallo accusata, prima, d'aver supposto il figlio, 2°, d'aver avelenato il figlio della principessa di Danimarca, e di molte altre cose, e che da queste accuse si sarebbe proceduto con le forme prima della prigionia, e poi di levarli la vita. Quanto a me, confesso che non m'hanno mai potuto far intrare simili spaventi, ad ogni modo non ho disentito dal parere de gl'altri. Onde la regina mi disse alli 2d° di Decembre, che lei pensava di partire il Lunedì seguente con la mia sola persona bramando di passare per mia figlia di camera, e che a questo effetto aveva il re ordinato a Gravesend un *yacht*, e commandato al capitano di dovere attendere donna Vittoria Montecucoli donna Avia, dama Italiana per passarla in Francia con i suoi domestici e sue robbe. Ma a tutto questo mi impose un strettissimo silenzio. La Domenica sera dell ix dopo la cena delle loro maestà fui chiamata dal re, e nella sua camera ritrovai la regina, il conte di Lausun, cavaliere Francese, e vi era ancora il Riva, mi dissero che la notte del Lunedì pensavano che partisse meco la regina, incognita, in una carozza a nolo, che il nostro conduttore sarebbe il conte di Lausun, e che il quarto luogo sarebbe stato per la signora Pelegrina, Cameriera; quanto a mio fratello bramavano che io non li dicessi cosa alcuna, ma che il dopo pranzo il padre Giudici, confessore della regina, l'avrebbe invitato

ad andar sèco a caccia, e che col padre Eruga in un'altra carrozza e per altra strada si sarebbero portati all'imbarco. La mattina seguente la regina mentre stavo al tavolino si acconciava come fra denti mi disse. Del negotio d' ieri sera non se ne fà più altro. Il Francese strepitava, ed io pure temevo che la dilatione scoprisse il tutto, e che li malevoli potessero machinare del male, quando mi fu permesso di mandar alla regina la causa di questa mutazione, essa mi rispose che il re pensava bene così mentre non aveva ancora avuto avviso che il principe di Galles fosse partito da Portsmouth, avendo il re ordinato l'ammiraglio che era colà che lo facesse passare in Francia sopra un vascello ben forte. Nell' istesso giorno ritornò da Portsmouth uno scudiere della regina spedito dalla medema dopo d'aver mandato prima il sudito ordine, all' ammiraglio, e portò nuova che il principe di Galles stava con buona salute, dal che s'accorsè che non era ancora stato eseguito l'ordine, mentre non avevano dall'Ammiraglio alcuna risposta, la quale venne poi l'istesse sera ben tardi, e francamente diceva, di non potere in ciò obbedire a sua maestà essendo contro le leggi di *crimen læsa-majestatis* il condurre in luogo straniero anco a titolo di salvezza il successore della corona. A questo il re si turbò molto e risolve di farlo condurre a Londra per terra, come fece, essendovi arrivato la sera di Venerdì 17^o del mese, avendo in doi giorni fatto 60 miglia, non aveva però punto patito, fù incontrato 20 miglia lontano da Londra dalle carrozze della regina condotte dal Riva. Il Sabato li 18 la sera, la regina mi disse che per la susseguente notte della Domenica era determinato la nostra partenza, e che ella meco con il sig^{te} di Lausun, signora Pelegrina in carrozza, ed il Riva a cavallo saressimo andate a Dover, dove ci aspetava un *yacht*, che saressimo state 24 ore in carrozza, e che l'istesse notte, per il Tamigi, sarebbe disceso il principino sino a Gravesend con il signore Walgrave, mio fratello, la governante e li padri che colà sarebbero montati sul *yacht* e perchè l'Oranges non fosse avvertito vi sarebbe stato un uomo con un altro ragazzo, e come figlio loro sarebbe anche esso passato, ed avrebbe detto essere la dama Italiana e sua famiglia e che a Calais ci saressimo tutti ritrovati, si stette in questa determinazione sino alle otto della sera, quando il conte di Sant' Angelo mi chiamò, e mi disse che aveva sentito dire che la regina doveva partire quella notte sul Tamigi ma che pure si diceva esservi quantità de' soldati. Io l'interogai se conosceva quello che l'aveva di ciò avisato, mi rispose di no, mà che stimava bene che io lo sapessi e ne avisassi la regina; mi dimostrai nuova di tal cosa e li dissi, veda come son vestita, avendo io la vesta negra, me ne andai subito ad avvertir la regina, quale mi disse aver già saputo l'istesso dal my lady di Roscommon. Di poi me ne andai a cenna, ed avisai la regina che il conte di Lausun desiderava parlar seco prima che facesse partir il principe, mi spogliai e rivestii, e sul ponto della mezza

notte il Riva venne a pigliarmi in camera, e mi trovò giusto vestita. Pigliai tutte le nostre gioie, certe medaglie e scritture datemi dalla regina, avevo una mia Ovatta e pigliai meco una camiscia e due fazoletti, me ne andai alla camera della maestà della regina, quale trovai col re, e con sommo suo cordoglio mi disse che io non potevo andar seco in carrozza, che li Torbidi quali si dubitavano essere sul Tamigi non li permettevano azardare il figlio. Che esse pure non andava più a Dover, dove si sentiva il popolo sollevato, ma che in carrozza sarebbe venuta all' *yacht* che stava a Gravesend, quale bisognava che conducesse la baglia, ed un'altra donna che sempre tienè in braccio il bambino, et il conte di Lausun. Mi opposi a tal risoluzione, mostrando di non volerla lasciar sola, che più tosto sarei stata sopra un cuscino in mezzo a gl'altri. Ma mi dissero tante ragioni che bisogno partire in qual ponto con la signora Pelegrina, mio fratello e padre Galli. Montassimo in una carrozza che ci condusse alla barca dove già era my lady de Burgh, governante del principe, con suo marito e la sotto governatrice, la cuna del bambino con le cose necessarie per lui, il cavaliere Walgrave con due capitani di mare, e felicemente in 6 ore arrivassimo all' *yacht*, ove per tre ore aspettassimo la Regina, la lascio considerare con qual pena e timora si stava, tutti dicevano la sua, e venuto che fù il giorno, ogn'uno aperiva essere impossibile che la regina giungesse a salvamento. Quando poi piacque a Dio arrivò e ci disse che stavo bene e che il bambino non aveva punto patito, tutto che si procurasse di farla passare per mia sorella, ad ogni modo il Capitano la riconobbe e gli disse che stimava sua gloria il poterla servire, vi erano ancora altri quattro capitani di mare per assistere, ed osservare dove s'andava per maggior cautella. Alle 10 ore della mattina del Martedì 21 del mese arrivassimo a Calais, avessimo il mare assai buono, tutta la notte stassimo ancorati senza far motto. Io però tutto il Lunedì stetti amaregrata. La regina pati molto ne mai udiessi parola di lamento. In Calais non volse essere salutata dal solito sbaro, fù alloggiata in casa de particolari assai bene, e servita dal duca Cheuron governatore, Giovedì mattina 23 del mese partissimo a questa volta, all'uscire della fortezza s'ebbe un nobile sbaro e fossimo accompagnati da una campagna di dragoni, 10 miglia lontano ne trovassimo altre due compagnie con quantità de cavaglieri a cavallo. Siamo alloggiati nel palazzo del duca d'Aumont, nobilissimamente servite, s'aspettà a momenti il re d'Inghilterra stando la regina sommamente afflitta per non averne alcuna nuova. Un capitano di mare venuto da Dover dice che il re era partito da Londra. Ho lasciato una lettera serrata ad Antonio mio servitore con ordine come si debbe contenere, il tutto verà con le robbe e genti della regina. Dicono che il nuntio e l'enviato di Savoia siano fermati a Canterbury. Il re di Francia ha fatto preparare alloggio per la regina al bosco di Vicelles, ed ha scritto una lettera al conte di Lausun piena di grandissime esibitione.

TRANSLATION.

Boulogne, France, 24 December, 1688.

We arrived here about six o'clock yesterday evening. I will now give you that information which up to this moment I have been compelled to keep secret. Let me then inform you that as soon as I had arrived in London, the queen intimated to me the necessity which existed for her departure thence, and as I was of opinion that such a course should not be determined on without urgent necessity, I expressed my sentiments to the queen with all becoming respect, to which she replied that I was not cognizant of the state of affairs, and recommended me to have some conversation with the abate Ricini, with the view of obtaining information. I did so, and learnt from him the danger in which the queen was placed, if she remained longer in London, arising from the certainty that parliament would accuse her, in the first place, of passing off a surreptitious son, secondly, of having poisoned the son of the princess of Denmark, and of many other things; and that from these accusations they would proceed in due form, first to imprison her, and then to take her life. For my part, I confess, I could not be persuaded to entertain such fears, nevertheless, I yielded to the opinion of others. Whence on the 11th of December, the queen told me that she contemplated taking her departure on the following Monday, with no other companion than me, intending to pass as my lady's maid, and that for this purpose the king had ordered a yacht at Gravesend, and given instructions to the captain to wait there for donna Victoria Montecucoli donna Avia, an Italian lady, in order to pass her into France with her servants and effects. But with respect to all this, she imposed upon me the strictest silence. On Sunday evening the 12th, after their majesties supper, I was summoned by the king, and in his chamber I found the queen, the count de Lauzun a French chevalier, and Riva was also present; they told me that their intention was that the queen should depart with me incog. on Monday night, in a hired carriage; that the count de Lauzun would be our conductor, and that the fourth place would be reserved for signora Pelegrina, lady of the bedchamber; with respect to my brother, they desired that I should not mention the subject to him, but that after dinner, father Giudice, the queen's confessor, should invite him to accompany him to the chase, and that with father Eruga, they should go to the place of embarkation in another carriage and by a different road. The following morning, the queen, while standing at her toilette dressing her hair, whispered to me, The arrangements of yesterday evening are no longer to be carried out: the Frenchman was excited, and I too feared that the delay would reveal all, and that our adversaries would plan some mischief. When I was permitted to inquire of the queen the cause of this change, she replied, that the king had formed this prudent resolve since he had

not yet received advice of the departure of the prince of Wales from Portsmouth ; the king having given instructions to the admiral who was there to take him over to France in a stout ship. The same day one of the queen's equerries whom she had dispatched to Portsmouth, returned thence, after having delivered the above named orders to the admiral, and brought intelligence that the prince of Wales was in good health, from which it was inferred that the order had not yet been carried into execution, as they had no reply from the admiral. An answer, however, arrived very late the same night, and stated frankly, that he could not obey his majesty in this case, as it would be an infringement of the criminal law, *Læsa Majestas*, to conduct the heir of the crown to a foreign land, even with a view to his safety. This greatly troubled the king, and he determined to have him brought up to London by land, which was accordingly done, and he arrived on Friday, the 17th of the month, having travelled sixty miles in two days, he had not suffered in the slightest degree ; he was met twenty miles from London by the queen's carriages, conducted by Riva. On Saturday evening of the 18th, the queen said to me, that our departure was fixed for the ensuing Sunday night, and that she and I, along with monsieur de Lauzun and signora Pelegrina, in a carriage, and Riva on horseback, were to proceed to Dover, where a yacht would await us : that we should be twenty-four hours in the carriage, and that the prince would depart the same night down the Thames as far as Gravesend, with Mr. Walgrave, my brother, the governess, and the fathers, who would there get on board the yacht ; and in order to avoid any information being given to the prince of Orange, a man was to be there with another boy, and this boy likewise was to pass as their son, and they would announce themselves to be the Italian lady and her family, and that we should all meet again at Calais ; this determination was adhered to until eight o'clock in the evening, when the count of St. Angelo called me, and told me that he had heard a report that the queen was about to depart that night by the Thames, but that it was also stated, that a great many soldiers were stationed there. I asked him if he knew the person who had given him that information ? he replied, that he did not, but he thought it right that I should be made acquainted with the fact, and inform the queen of it. I appeared ignorant of any thing of the kind, and said to him, See how I am dressed ; I had on a black gown. I immediately went and told the queen, who stated that she had already been apprized of the same by lady Roscommon. I then went to supper, and informed the queen that the count de Lauzun wished to speak to her before she started the prince ; I proceeded to undress, and put on a fresh costume, and just at midnight, Riva came to fetch me in the chamber. I took all our jewels, certain medals, and some writings given to me by the queen. I had my wadded dressing gown, and I took with me a chemise and two kerchiefs. I then went to

her majesty's chamber, and found her there with the king, and with heart-felt grief she intimated to me that I could not accompany her in the carriage: that the malcontents whom she suspected to be upon the Thames prevented her from exposing her son to any risk; that she herself was no longer going to Dover, where she had learnt there was a commotion among the people: but that she would proceed to the yacht at Gravesend in a carriage, which rendered it necessary that she should take the nurse and another lady to keep the child constantly in her arms, and the count de Lausun. I resisted this determination, declaring that I would not leave her alone—that I would rather occupy a cushion in the midst of the others. But she gave me so many reasons, that I was obliged to depart immediately with signora Pelegrina, my brother, and father Galli. We got into a carriage which took us to the boat, where we found lady de Burgh the prince's governess, and her husband, also the under governess, the child's cradle, and such things as were necessary for him, Mr. Walgrave, and two sea captains, and we arrived happily at the yacht in six hours, where we waited three hours in expectation of the queen. I leave you to conceive the pain and anxiety which prevailed, all gave expression to their own feelings, and when daylight made its appearance, we thought it impossible that the queen could arrive in safety. When, however, it pleased God, she arrived, and told us that she was quite well, and that the child had not in the least suffered. In spite of all the disguise which she had procured to pass as my sister, the captain recognized her, and told her that he esteemed it to his glory to have it in his power to serve her. There were present four other sea captains to assist in the navigation and observe the course for greater caution. At ten o'clock in the morning of Tuesday the 21st of the month, we arrived at Calais; the sea was favourable for us, we had remained the whole night at anchor without moving. I, indeed, was sea-sick all Monday. The queen suffered a good deal, but uttered no complaint. At Calais she was unwilling to receive the usual salute: she was lodged in a tolerably good private house, and waited on by the duke de Cheuron, the governor of the town. On Thursday morning the 23rd of the month, we left for this place: on going out of the fortress we received a noble salute, and were accompanied by a troop of dragoons; at ten miles distance we found two more troops with a number of gentlemen on horseback. We are lodged in the palace of the duke d'Aumont and nobly entertained; the king of England is expected every moment, and the queen is in great affliction at having no intelligence concerning him. A sea captain arrived from Dover says that the king had left London. I have left a sealed letter for my valet Anthony, with instructions how he is to act. Every thing will come with the goods, and people in the queen's service. It is reported that the nuncio and the envoy from Savoy are stopped at Canterbury. The king

of France has caused apartments to be prepared for the queen at the "Bois de Vicelles," and has written a letter to the count de Lauzun full of the greatest proffers of service.

CHARTERS RELATING TO THE FAMILY OF GIFFARD.

The following charters are a portion of the valuable evidences of John Hay, esq., of Breewood, Staffordshire, who most obligingly entrusted them to my care for examination, and permitted their publication in the *Journal* of the Association. My attention was first drawn to the extraordinary history of the Giffard family during our Congress at Worcester, and I have never lost an opportunity since that period of collecting materials for its illustration. The series of charters in the possession of Mr. Hay relates exclusively to the Chillington branch, commencing with (No. 1) the frequently-quoted, but never-before-published grant of the vill of Techmul in Ireland, in the reign of Henry II, to Peter Giffard, of Chillington, by earl Richard Fitz-Gilbert, the progenitor of the great family of the Clares, and husband of Rohesia or Rose Giffard, daughter of the first or second Walter Giffard, earl of Buckinghamshire. Among the witnesses occurs the name of Giffard de Everci, called by Vincent, Giffard of Ever (query Ever or Iver, in Buckinghamshire?); the identification of this witness might go far to connect the broken link in the chain between the Giffards of Brumfield and Chillington, and the ducal house of Bucks, of which they were undoubtedly collateral descendents.

No. 2 is a charter of Avicia de Harecourt (circa 1250), to Peter Giffard, 2nd of Chillington, and Avicia his wife.

No. 3 is a charter of the above Peter Giffard of Chillington, to one Geoffrey, a clerk of Hyde, and witnessed by a John Giffard, clerk.

No. 4. Another charter of the same Peter Giffard to Henry de Sutton, chaplain.

No. 5. A charter of Margery, daughter of sir Ralph de Cone, to the black nuns of Breewood, and witnessed by William Giffard. The date must be previous to the Statute of Mortmain, 7 Edw. I.

No. 6. A charter of Henry de Parco (Park) confirm-

ing the former charter of Margery his wife, witnessed also by William Giffard.

No. 7. Is a charter by John of Sempringham (query if a Giffard?) to Thomas de la Hyde, of seven *selions* (*i.e.* butts) of land lying in the nether furlong in Piladescroft, between the land of Urian de St. Pierre and Robert Fitz-John de Hyde, to hold by the annual gift of a rose on the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist. This charter dates between the 1st and 18th of Edward I, and on the back of it, in a handwriting of the time of Edward III or Richard II, is the registry of a claim to estover, in the wood of Chillington, by grant and concession of the same Thomas de la Hyde, as recognized by John Giffard, late lord of Chillington, before the king's justices at Westminster. Mr. Hay, in a note on this subject, remarks: "The sale of the confiscated estates of Chillington by the Drury House Commissioners, could not cancel the estover rights. It must have astonished the clever London merchants who had made a speculation of Chillington, to find parties entering the splendid oak woods and carrying away at pleasure."

It is a matter of great regret that the seals of all these charters have perished, particularly that of Richard Fitz-Gilbert. The charter itself is a beautiful specimen of the clear, bold writing of the twelfth century. They have all been carefully inspected by Mr. Black, of the Rolls House, and copied under his supervision.

J. R. PLANCHÉ.

No. 1.—Comes Ric. filius comitis Gill'. omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac mea karta confirmasse Petro Giffard villam que dicitur Techmul' et dimidiū cantref in quo sedet sibi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis libere quiete et honorabiliter, in bosco et plano et acquis pro servitio decem militum. His testibus, Rog. monacho de Tinter., Josl' de Pomer., Rog. de Aula, Rad. Bloet, Walt. Bloet, Ric. Bloet, Ruelet. Bloet, Giffard. de Everci, Nich. de Sancta Brig'. In Hib. apud Watreford.

No. 2.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego domina Alicia de Harewecurt concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Petro Giffart et Avicie uxori ejus et heredibus eorum, quod ego nec heredes mei aliquid exigemus in terra predicti Petri et Avicie uxoris sue extra sepem que circuit moram quam Willelmus Bole tenuit nisi de bona voluntate eorum processerit. Salva communi pastura quam solebam habere et habere debeo

in feudo de Waletun et salvis aliis tenementis meis que de predictis Petro et Avicia teneo sicut carte mee protestantur. Et ut hec mea concessio et confirmatio rata permaneat: eam presentis scripti mei testimonio et sigilli mei appositione roboravi. Hiis testibus, domino A. Priore de Rout'; Thoma filio Rogeri, Roberto de Knittel', Roberto persona de Offeleia, Hugone Pippart persona de Chebesey, Roberto Noel, Willelmo de Hetstall, Waltero fratre ejus, et multis aliis.

No. 3.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Petrus Giffard dominus de Chylinton dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Galfrido clerico de Hyda pro homagio et servicio suo unam partem terre in Themour inclusam que jacet inter terram suam propriam ex una parte et viam que jacet de porta sua apud Edhakersmethe. Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis libere, quiete et honorifice et pacifice in defensis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco meo omnimodo. veter. focal. ad voluntatem suam supra terram et infra in bosco meo de Chylinton' et in plano et in omnibus comunibus libertatibus et aysiamentis. Reddendo inde annuatim ipse et heredes sui vel sui assignati mihi et heredibus meis tres galynas ad natale Domini pro omni servicio et demanda. Salvo tamen bis ad curiam nostram per annum. Hanc vero donationem et concessionem ego et heredes mei sibi et heredibus suis contra omnes [h]omines warantizabimus inperpetuum. Et ut hec mea donatio et concessio firma et stabilis inposterum maneat presens scriptum sigilli mei roboravi inpressione. Hiis testibus, Roberto de Somurford, Siphano de Wynereston', J. Giffard clerico, Willelmo de Hyd', J. de Hud', et aliis.

No. 4.—Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Petrus Giffard de Chilinton dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Sutton capellano pro servicio suo quatuor acras terre et unam dimidiam acram. Illas scilicet que se extendunt in longitudine inter sepem de Bakelowe-feld, et vetus fossatum versus Gunneston'. Et unam acram terre que se extendit in longitudine extra assartum quod fuit Alani Mercatoris versus Hesyam de Gunneston' in territorio de Chilinton'. Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis libere quiete bene et in pace inperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis, ipse et heredes sui, undecim denarios argenti ad duos terminos anni, scilicet ad festum sancte Marie in Martio quinque denarios et obolum, et ad festum sancti Michaelis quinque denarios et obolum, pro omni seculari servicio exaccione et demanda. Pro hac autem donacione concessione et carte mee confirmacione, dedit mihi dictus Henricus quinque marcas et dimidium argenti pre manibus. Ego vero Petrus predictus et heredes mei predicto Henrico et heredibus suis totam predictam terram cum pertinentiis contra omnes gentes inperpetuum warantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum apposui. Hiis testibus, domino Radulfo de Cone milite, Roberto de Somerford, Radulfo de Brom-

hale, Thom. de la Lee, Waltero Serviente, Radulfo de Chilinton', Johanne de la Siche, et aliis.

No. 5.—Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Margeria quondam filia domini Radulfi de Cone militis, salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra me caritatis intuitu dedisse et concessisse Deo et beate Marie et nigris Monialibus de Brevide ibidem Deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam sexdecim denarios de annuo redditu in villa de Horsebroc de heredibus Ricardi de Bromhale pro tenemento quod aliquo tempore ibidem de me tenuerunt annuatim percepturos, scilicet ad festum sancti Michaelis octo denarios, et ad festum annunciationis beate Marie octo denarios, qui quidem redditus jure partis rationabilis me continebat. Habendum et tenendum dictis Monialibus de Brevide, libere et quiete, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam cum releviis, vardinis, maritagiiis, et omnibus aliis commodis et ascariis que ratione dicti redditus aliquo modo accidere poterunt, in perpetuum. Ego vero Margeria et heredes mei Deo et beate Marie et predictis Monialibus predictum redditum cum omnibus pertinentiis sicut prenotatum est: contra omnes gentes varantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus. Et ut hec mea donatio concessio et varantizatio pure et perpetue stabilitatem elemosine optineant: presentem cartam meam sigilli mei inpressione roboravi. Hiis testibus, domino Ricardo de Stretton milite, Hugone de Veston, Hugone de Bolingh', Willelmo Giffard, Roberto de Sumerford, Johanne de Sempiham, Valtero Serviente, Petro de Brevide, Willelmo de Bromh' et aliis.

No. 6.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Henricus de Parco concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et beate Marie et nigris Monialibus de Brevide ibidem Deo servientibus donationem Margerie uxoris mee, scilicet, Robertum Davi de Horsebroc cum catallis suis et tota secta sua et totam terram cum pertinentiis quam idem Robertus aliquo tempore de me et dicta Margeria uxore mea tenuit. Et sexdecim denarios de annuo redditu de heredibus Ricardi de Bromhal annuatim percepturos. Ita vero quod ego Henricus et heredes mei dictis Monialibus de Brevide predictum Robertum cum secta sua, et predictam terram cum pertinentiis suis, et predictum redditum cum pertinentiis suis, secundum formam in cartis memorate Margerie contentam: contra omnes gentes varantizabimus et defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium presentem cartam meam sigilli mei inpressione roboravi. Hiis testibus, domino Ricardo de Stretton milite, Hugone de Veston', Hugone de Bolinghal', Willelmo Giffard, Roberto de Sumerford, Johanne de Sempih', Valtero Serviente, Petro de Brevod', Willelmo de Bromh', et aliis.

No. 7.—Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes de Sempingham dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Thome de la Hyde septem seyliones terre in la Hyde que quidem seyliones

jacent in le neperuorlong in Piladescroft inter terram Vriani de sancto Petro ex parte una, et terram Roberti filii Johannis de Hyda ex parte altera. Habendas et tenendas dictas septem seyliones terre cum omnibus suis pertinentiis dicto Thome et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis, libere, quiete, bene, jure hereditario inperpetuum. Reddendo inde annuatim dictus Thomas et heredes sui vel sui assignati dicto Johanni et heredibus suis, unam rosam si ipsam petere voluerint ad domum dicti Thome in la Hyde, in festo nativitatis sancti Johannis baptiste, pro omni servicio seculari exactione et demanda. Et ego vero dictus Johannes et heredes mei vel mei assignati dicto Thome et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis predictas septem seyliones terre cum pertinentiis suis, contra omnes homines et feminas warantizabimus aquieta bimus et defendemus inperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Willelmo de la More, Roberto de Somerford, Radulpho de Pendeford, Petro de la Siche, Nicholao de Peyntone, Henrico de Bromhale, Roberto Eliot, et aliis.

In dorso.

Concessi ecciam eidem Thome et heredibus suis vel suis assingnatis quod habeant estoveria sua in bosco de Chelynton tamquam pertinencia ad liberum tenementum suum in la Hyde, videlicet, quinquaginta et duas carectatas competentis bosci in loco competenti in eodem bosco annuatim et inperpetuum percip[i]endas, et octo carectatas bone et competentis clature in loco competenti in eodem bosco annuatim et inperpetuum percipiendas et ecciam unam quercum competentem ad meremeum in predicto bosco in loco competenti annuatim et inperpetuum percipiendam. Habend. et prosternend. et carierend. de dicto bosco ubicunque dicto Thome et heredibus suis vel suis assingnatis placuerit, tam predictas quinquaginta et duas carectatas bosci et octo carectatas clature quam unam quercum annuatim et inperpetuum percipiend. quocunque tempore anni eidem Thome et heredibus suis vel suis assingnatis placuerit, sine calumpnia mei vel heredum meorum seu assingnatorum meorum. Que quidem omnia predicta estoveria dominus Johannes Gyffard quondam dominus de Chelynton eidem Thome recongnovit ut jus suum tamquam pertinens ad liberum tenementum suum in la Hyde, coram justiciariis domini regis apud Westmonasterium.

Proceedings of the Association.

NOVEMBER 10, 1852.

The following associates were announced as having been elected during the recess :

George Mounsey Gray, esq., 7, Upper Bedford-place.
 Henry Curling, esq., Westbourne Lodge, Harrow-road.
 William Newton, esq., Newark.
 The Earl of Scarborough, Rufford Abbey, Notts.
 Geo. E. Harcourt Vernon, esq., M.P., Grove Hall, East Retford.
 Wm. Hodgson Barrow, esq., M.P., Southwell.
 J. H. Manners Sutton, esq., M.P., Albany.
 Wm. Wills, esq., Edgbaston, near Birmingham.
 Wm. N. Nicholson, esq., Newark.
 Lord A. Edwin Hill, Norwood Park, Southwell.
 Richard Milward, esq., Thurgarton Priory, Notts.
 Colonel Thomas Wildman, Newstead Abbey, Notts.
 Godfrey Tallents, esq., Newark.
 Thomas Close, esq., Nottingham.
 Charles Pidgeon, esq., Reading.
 Miss Bicknell, 97, Sydney-place, Bath.
 John Bartlett, esq., 11, Bolton's, West Brompton.

The following presents were announced and laid upon the table, the thanks of the Society having been voted to the respective donors :

- From the Society of Antiquaries.* Archæologia, vols. 33 and 34. London, 1849-51. 4to
 — Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 18 to 32. 1849-52 8vo.
From the Société des Antiquaires de Picardie. Coutumes Locales du Bailliage d'Amiens. Tom. II. Amiens, 1851. 4to.
 — Bulletin de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Picardie, Année 1851. 4 Numbers. Amiens, 1851. 8vo.
 — Bulletin, Année 1852. No. I. *ib.*
From the Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. Mémoires. Tom. xvi de la Collection. Paris, 1852. 4to.
 — Mémoires, second Série, Livraisons 3 et 4. *ib.*

- From the Society.* Proceedings of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society. Vol. I. Liverpool, 1852. 4to.
- From the Smithsonian Institution.* Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge. Vols. III and IV. 1852. 4to.
- Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. 1851. 8vo.
- Smithsonian Report on Recent Improvements in the Chemical Arts. 8vo.
- Directions for Collecting Specimens of Natural History. 8vo.
- Registry of Periodical Phenomena.
- List of Works Published by the Smithsonian Institution.
- List of Foreign Institutions with which the Smithsonian Institution is in Correspondence.
- Abstract of the 7th Census of the United States.
- American Zoological, Botanical, and Geological Bibliography, for the year 1851.
- From the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, United States.* History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the U.S. by H. R. Schoolcraft. Vol. II. 4to.
- From the Archæological Institute.* Their Journal. No. 34. Jan. 1852. 8vo.
- From the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society.* Report of the Council. June, 1852. 8vo.
- From the Bury and West Suffolk Archæological Institute.* Their Proceedings. No. 6. May, 1852. 8vo.
- Archæological Guide to Ely Cathedral. 1851. 8vo.
- From the Architectural Societies of Northampton, York, Lincoln, etc.* Their Reports. 1850-51. 2 vols. 8vo.
- From the American Ethnological Society.* Their Transactions. Vols. I. and II. New York, 1848. 8vo.
- From the Author.* Sur les Fouilles exécutées au Catillon, par M. Charma. 8vo. Paris, 1852.
- Sujets Dramatiques, par M. Boucher de Perthes. 2 tom. 12mo. Paris, 1852.
- Emma, ou Quelques Lettres de Femme 12mo. Paris, 1852.
- Selections from the Ancient Monastic, Ecclesiastical, and Domestic Edifices of Lincolnshire, by J. S. Padley. Lincoln, 1851. 4to.
- Archæologische Analecten, von Joseph Arneth, mit einem Atlas von xx. Tafeln. Wien, 1851. Folio.
- Letter to Lord Viscount Mahon, P.S.A., on the present State and Condition of that Society, by T. J. Pettigrew. London, 1852. 8vo. Second edition.
- The Ancient British, Roman, and Saxon Antiquities and Folk Lore of Worcestershire, by Jacob Allies. Second edition. London, 1852. 8vo.

From the Author. The History and Antiquities of St. David's, by W. B. Jones and E. A. Freeman. Part I. London, 1852. 4to.

— Notice Historique sur Benjamin de Tudele, par E. Carmoly, suivé de l'Examen Géographique de ses Voyages, par J. Lelewel. Bruxelles, 1852. 8vo.

— Géographie du Moyen Age étudiée par J. Lelewel. Tom. I.-IV. Bruxelles, 1852. 8vo.

— Zwei Reden des Uebgeordneten U. Reichensperger. Berlin, 1852. 8vo.

From the Minister of Public Instruction at Turin. Catalogo Illustrato dei Monumenti Egizii del R. Museo di Torino, compilato dal Prof. Pier-Camillo Orcurti. Torino, 1852. 8vo.

From the Publisher. Annals and Legends of Calais, by R. B. Calton. London, 1852. 8vo.

From the Society. Proceedings of the Numismatic Society. Session 1851-2. 8vo.

— List of the Members of the Numismatic Society. 1851-2. 8vo.

Mr. S. Pratt, of Bond-street, exhibited a vizored bascinet of the early part of the reign of Edward III, possessing the unique feature of the camail or chain neck-piece, *in situ*. See plate 38. The bascinet was exceedingly damaged, but the form, as seen in the engraving, sufficiently preserved to enable the members to compare it most satisfactorily with those represented on the heads of figures in contemporary brasses engraved in Mr. Waller's beautiful work. It had been suggested that the vizor was of a later date than the bascinet, and this curious relic was, it appeared, rejected by the Tower on that account. It is quite possible that the vizor may be some twenty or thirty years later than the bascinet; but it in no way deteriorates the value of the specimen, if not a modern addition, as the vizor was removable at pleasure, and the bascinet worn as often without as with it. Of the genuineness of the camail there could not be the least doubt, and its existence *in situ*, was most interesting and instructive. It was remarkable, as particularly shown in the engraving, that the rings of which it was composed were not riveted, as this fact had been doubted by eminent antiquaries. The perfect resemblance the chain assumed when laid flat upon the table to the representations of double chain mail on effigies of the fourteenth century, proved the accuracy of the sculptors of that period.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following paper *On Ring and Chain Armour* :—

“The defensive armour of the Phrygians consisted of tunics covered with flat rings; and combatants so attired are depicted upon the fictile vases of Greece and Etruria.

“We learn from Polybius. (vi, 23) that the Roman *Hastati*, or spearmen, during the republic, wore shirts or jackets of chain mail. And



Valerius Flaccus (vi, 233) speaks of the *molli lorica catena*; and soldiers habited in this vestment occur upon the sculptured slabs taken from the arch of Trajan, and inserted into that raised by Constantine near the Coliseum, and also on the Colonna Antonina. In the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. i, p. 142, sir Samuel Meyrick has described two examples of what he believed to be parts of *lorica catena* of the *Cataphracti equites*; the one in the possession of the present duke of Northumberland, the other in the museum of Mr. Roach Smith; the latter was found in a mass mingled with Roman remains in Eastcheap. Both examples consisted of rings 'in lengths made of four welded together at the edges.' Similar specimens are in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, which were exhumed near Castlecary station. I have a brass ring, nearly three-quarters of an inch in diameter, broken from the end of a set of four, which is exactly similar to Mr. Smith's specimen, figured in the *Journal*, p. 148. It was found with others in the Thames a few years back; and we have also an example of three rings united together, forming a line nearly three inches long, and weighing 5 dwts. 22 gr. (See cut.) These rings, which are rather thinner than the other examples enumerated, were discovered with Roman articles in Moore Lane, Fore Street, Cripplegate, February 1847.

"The *Hringed-byrne*, *Hringed-loca*, or *Hringed-nett* of the Anglo-Saxons, was formed of iron rings sewed flat upon tunics of thick cloth or leather, and, therefore, closely resembled the armour of the ancient Phrygians. It is alluded to in the death song of Regnar Lodbroc, king of Denmark, where it is said '*Clouds of arrows pierced the close-ring'd harness*', and representations of it are seen in illuminated MSS. as early as the tenth century.

"It seems probable that armour resembling that of the Saxons was worn by the Northern nations; for it is recorded in the *Heim-kringla*,¹ that St. Olaf, king of Norway, who was slain at the battle of Sticklastad, A.D. 1030, was habited in a '*hringa brynio*', a tunic of ringed mail.

"I am not aware that any specimens of the ringed armour of the Saxons have come down to us, for the armour discovered in the barrow at Benty Grange, near Moneyash, in Derbyshire, figured and described by Mr. Bateman in the *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 278, though undoubtedly of Teutonic fabrication, partakes much more of the character of the *Lorica hamata* of the Romans than the *Hringed-byrne* of the Anglo-Saxons.

"The ringed armour of the Norman conquerors was precisely similar



¹ II, 352, edit. Schöning.

to that of the vanquished Saxons, as may be seen by an inspection of the warriors pourtrayed on the Bayeux tapestry. With these invaders came the title of *Hauberk* for this species of defence, which they made both with rings sewed flat upon the tunic, and also with rows of rings placed flat over each other, so that two of the upper line partially covered one in that below, thus giving the appearance of open scales. This variety sir Samuel Meyrick considered as '*rustred armour*.'¹

"About the time of Stephen, a new species of armour began to make its appearance; and from the mode in which it is represented, many have been led to believe that it consisted of rings set close together edgewise. This may have been the case; but it is far more probable that the artists intended to represent the *interlaced chain mail* which is generally stated to have been introduced from Asia by the Crusaders, in the reign of Henry III, at which time there is ample evidence to show that *Coif*,² *Chemise*, and *Chausses*, were all composed of this fabric.

"The chain mail continued to be worn down to the close of the reign of Edward III, and possibly into the commencement of that of his successor Richard II,³ from which period may be dated the general abandonment of the Hauberk of chain, and the adoption of plate armour; when knights, both in the battle field and at the lists, appeared encased—

——— 'from head to heel

In mail and plate of Milan steel,⁴

the chain work being retained for the *Camail* or tippet attached to the lower edge of the bassinet, and for skirts or aprons, and gussets at the joints, and for socks and coverings for the insteps.⁴

"The perishable nature of the substructure upon which the rings were sewed, forbids us to expect any other remains of the Norman hauberk

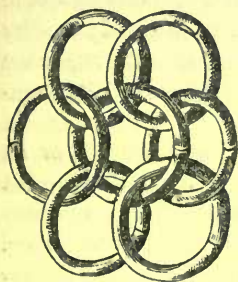
¹ A valuable representation of the flat-ringed hauberk of the time of Henry I is given in the *Gent. Mag.* for Oct. 1833, p. 305, from figures on the side of a brass pyx found in the Temple church.

² Examples of the *coif de mailles* of the early part of the thirteenth century are given from sepulchral effigies in Dorchester church, Oxfordshire, in *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 187; and from the Abbey church of Pershore, Worcestershire, in vol. iv, p. 319; and of that of the time of Edward I, from the Painted Chamber, Westminster, vol. viii, p. 131, fig. 12; and from the brass of sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289, in Trumpington church, Cambridgeshire, same page, fig. 13. A *coif de mailles* of this reign is also seen on the monumental brass of sir William Molyneux, in Sefton church, 1548; his armour, however, is of the time of Henry VIII. See *Journal*, vol. v, p. 263.

³ In the metrical chronicle of the deposition of Richard II (Harleian MS. 1319), M'Morrough, king of Leinster, is depicted in a long coat of chain-mail.

⁴ An early example of the admixture of chain and plate armour occurs in a figure of one of the earls of Gloucester, from a painted window in the Abbey church of Tewkesbury, engraved in the *Journal*, vol. v, p. 373. It represents him in a hauberk, over which is worn an emblazoned cyclas; his head protected with a spherical *chapel-de-fer*, his hands with *gaullets*, and his knees and shins with *genouilleres* and *greaves*, or *jambes* of plate: date, early part of the fourteenth century.

than its detached metallic circlets; and even specimens of undoubted European hauberk of interlaced chain-mail of the age of the Plantagenets are of great rarity. That formerly preserved at Tong Castle, in Shropshire, and now in the Tower of London, in which plates of metal are introduced into the chain-work, is palpably of Indian manufacture, and closely resembles a specimen in the Meyrick collection at Goodrich court, from Delhi. One of the earliest examples of interlaced chain-mail at present known is probably that figured in the *Journal*, vol. i, p. 142, which sir Samuel Meyrick regarded as part of the armour of an English knight in the reign of our first or second Edward.¹ This specimen was obtained from a church in Gloucestershire. The rings upon an average would appear to be about three-fourths of an inch wide, and about seven-eighths of an inch long, the process of riveting having given them a somewhat ovate form. In the example from a hauberk (represented in the annexed wood-cut) all the rings are *riveted in two places*, but the *haubergeon* in the Meyrick collection of the time of Edward III is formed of *alternate rows of complete and single-riveted rings*, measuring about five eighths of an inch in diameter, the complete rings being rather stouter than those which are joined with rivets. This haubergeon came from Sinegaglia, a town of Urbino, in Italy.



“To the close of the reign of Edward II, or to the commencement of that of Edward III, must be assigned the splendid vizored bascinet exhibited by Mr. Pratt. (See plate 38.) This specimen is of especial interest on the present occasion, for to it is attached its original *camail* of interlaced chain-mail, each ring of which consists of a simple circlet of stout iron-wire five-eighths of an inch in diameter, the ends being brought together *without riveting*, and therefore differing altogether in construction from the specimens already alluded to. But we have in a specimen now before us a *haubergeon* formed of rings of exactly the same size and fabric, which may, therefore, be safely referred to the same period as the bascinet. The hauberk now under notice is made like a jacket, fastening down the left side with four small hooks, and having the remains of a sleeve attached to the right shoulder.

In the *Journal*, vol. vii, p. 438, is engraved a specimen of chain-mail, in the collection of our associate, Mr. Bateman, which was found many years back, in Staffordshire, and the rings of which measure four-tenths of an inch in diameter, the ends of *every ring* being united with a *single rivet*.

¹ The description of the chain-armour of the knight, discovered in the county of Derry about the year 1837-8, is too indefinite to hazard a conjecture as to date. The Saracenic stirrups would, however, indicate a very early period. See *Journal*, vol. i, p. 46.

And before us is an example with rings of exactly the same size as those in Mr. Bateman's specimen, but it is only the alternate rows which are riveted, the others consisting of perfect circlets. At one edge are a few rings of brass. This specimen was discovered in Fleet Ditch, February, 1847. From the small size of the rings in these specimens, we should be at first inclined to regard them as parts of the camail, skirts, or gussets of early plate armour, but there is reason to look upon them as the remains of haubergeons; for in the Museum of the United Service Institution is a haubergeon of chain-mail, the rings of which it is composed being of exactly the same diameter with those found in Staffordshire and the Fleet Ditch. The specimen is *said* to have been taken out of a *Crusader's* tomb at Avella, in Naples. We are therefore led to believe that these pieces of chain-mail are fragments from haubergeons of a period not later than the close of the reign of Edward III, or the early part of that of Richard II, without, indeed, the *Crusader's* hauberk be in reality the jacket of an archer of the time of Henry V, when, according to the illuminations of the period, bowmen were occasionally habited in chain-mail.¹

"The *camail*, or tippet, introduced in the reign of Edward I or II, continued to be worn until the time of Henry V,² and at a later period we find *gorgerettes* of chain-mail attached to the helmet in a similar way to the more ancient camail;³ and in the reign of Henry VIII sleeves and appendages to the *culettes* of this material occur; and skirts, or aprons, and gussets of chain are seen in plate armour, until towards the close of the sixteenth century.⁴ We have here (in a specimen exhibited) a small fragment of chain-mail which sir Samuel Meyrick considered to be of the time of Henry VIII. The rings are about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, each being joined with a single rivet. It was found in the Thames, near London-bridge, early in the year 1846; and affords a striking contrast in size and strength to the massive hauberk worn in the thirteenth century.

"As examples of the retention of chain-mail with plate-armour I beg to refer to the three rubbings from monumental brasses now exhibited.

¹ If any reliance could be placed upon the statement that this hauberk was taken out of a *Crusader's* tomb, it would of course belong to a period as early as the reign of Edward I, the Crusades having terminated by the taking of Ptolemais by the Sultan Melec, in 1291; but the size of the rings forbids its claim to such antiquity.

² The camail attached to the pointed bascinet is well exhibited in the monumental effigy of sir Godfrey Foljambe, in Bakewell church, Derbyshire, 1378, given in *Journal*, vol. vii, p. 325; and also in that of one of the Cockayne family, in Ashbourne church, Derbyshire, temp. Henry IV, engraved in the same vol., p. 375.

³ A helmet, with its chain, *gorgerette*, or *gorgiere* (as the gorget was then termed) of the time of Henry VIII, is engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick*, pl. 20, figs. 1 and 2. For a notice of a gorget supposed to have belonged to Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, who died in 1425, see *Journal*, vol. i, p. 365.

⁴ A gusset of double chain-mail is figured in Skelton, pl. 12, fig. 10.

The first is that of a knight of the time of Henry VIII, in the church of Allhallows, Barking. It exhibits a deep skirt of mail hanging beneath the narrow taces and small tuilles, and the insteps covered with chain. The second, that of John Leenthorp's, 1510, in Great St. Helen's church, shows us the chain gorget peeping out above the breast-plate, the skirt hanging beneath the taces, but somewhat shorter than the pointed tuilles; and the chain coverings for the insteps.

"The third, also in St. Helen's church, is from the brass of Robert Rochester, sergeant of the pantry to Henry VIII, 1514. In this a small portion of the gorget is visible, and a deep skirt descends below the taces and tuilles.

"Armour of interlaced chain-mail, though disused for centuries in Europe, still continues to be worn both in Asia and Africa. In several parts of India, in Georgia, Persia, and Courdistan, we find the warriors clothed in beautifully wrought suits of this species of defensive harness, and having long camails attached to their helmets.¹ The rings, generally speaking, used in the formation of the Eastern chain-armour, are much smaller and finer than those formerly employed in Europe, and we frequently find rows of brass rings introduced by way of decoration among the steel ones. The rings are almost always riveted; but an exception to this rule occurs in the magnificent suit of armour from Lahore now exhibiting at Marlborough-house, in which the ends of the fine steel and brass wires forming the little circlets are only brought together in a similar way to those composing the camail of Mr. Pratt's bascinet and the hauberk I have laid before you.

"Armour, similar in construction to that of Asia, is worn in Egypt and Abyssinia. Major Denham, in his *Travels in Africa*, describes the body-guard of the Sheikh of Bernou as being habited in coats of chain-mail which cover them from the throat to the knees. And what is still more extraordinary, there was discovered in 1828, in North America, in the valley of Black river, near the town of Coventry, in the State of Vermont, a coat of chain-mail without sleeves, and formed of wire little larger than that of the small steel purses. It is said to have been much rusted and decayed, but still sufficient remained to show its shape. If there is any truth in the account, the description would lead us to think this hauberk of oriental fabrication.²

"These few observations are thrown together with the hope of inducing those of our friends who possess examples of chain-mail, to bring them forward for exhibition, and not to think, because they may be *mere fragments*, that they do not possess an interest and a value in the eyes of the archæologist; for it is only by gathering together the scattered remains left us by the devouring rust of time, and comparing one with the

¹ The chain-shirt from the Rust Kammer at Dresden, exhibited to the Association, August 7, 1850, was of Indian manufacture. ² See *Mirror*, vol. xi, p. 344.

other, that we can ever arrive at any safe and valid conclusions as to their age, their country, and their use."

Mr. Charles Bridger laid before the meeting the drawing of a brass, representing what he considered to be a serjeant-at-arms of the time of Henry V. This gave rise to much discussion, and Mr. Bridger has promised to submit a paper on the subject at a future meeting.

Mr. Joseph Clarke, of Easton, exhibited a silver penny found at Ipswich. Obverse; a full face crowned, inscribed Johannes Dei Gra.; and on the reverse, Rex Boeth. C. Lo., cross and pellets—three in each quarter. This is one of the counterfeit sterlings of the time of Edward (I, II, III), struck in Flanders.—See Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, vol. v. p. 372; note s; also Snelling's *Coinage*.



Mr. Clarke also exhibited a silver halfpenny, found at Manningtree. Obverse: full face crowned, Henrici D. G. Rex Angl. m. m., cross crosslet. Reverse: Civitas London., cross and pellets. This is conjectured to be of Henry V.

Mr. Newton exhibited a bronze socket, or cylinder, having an inscription, in two lines, round the outside. It measured two inches and five-eighths in length and one inch and a quarter in diameter, and was dug up in the market-place at Hitchin on the 1st of September last. It was conjectured to have belonged to a pastoral or pilgrim's staff, which the inscription would appear to confirm, as well as that, when found, it was

filled with apparently decayed wood. The cylinder and inscription are

† PAELM TEN
DIRICATITER:

here represented of the full size; the latter reads:—✠ *Hæc* (scil. *crux*)
in tute dirigat iter.

Mr. J. J. Briggs, of King's Newton, Swarkeston, brought under the notice of the Association some Roman remains belonging to James Orton, esq., of St. Margaret's Bay, near Dover, Kent; and by whom they were most kindly presented to the Society. It appears that, at Midsummer last, Mr. Orton was engaged in building a rural hermitage for the reception of a variety of interesting objects of nature and art, and that one of the persons occupied in thatching the roof, acquainted Mr. Orton of a discovery he had made, and exhibited to him some dishes which he had used for holding flower-pots. Mr. Briggs states that, "About one year and a half ago a thatcher and day-labourer, named Thomas Horne, was employed in grubbing up an old hedge which stood on a bank near a place called Guston, perhaps two miles from Dover, lying on the road to Deal. The bank was situated near a disused public-road, and the owner wished to remove it. When digging about four feet beneath the surface of the ground, Horne struck his pickaxe into an earthen-vessel resembling a bottle, and in doing so broke it to pieces. Fortunately, however, for the antiquary, as he proceeded with his work, he discovered some more remains in the shape of urns, which are herewith sent. They were deposited in the following manner:—a hole had apparently been cut in the solid chalk, just large enough to admit of one urn being placed within it, and which the urn just filled. The urns were, in number, about eighteen (no two being alike either in size, shape, or figuring), were always in pairs—each pair being situated at a distance from the other of about eight or ten feet—and each urn having its interior filled with calcined bones. The saucer-shaped vessels also contained bones—one being turned on the top of the other to cover in the bones. The labourer, hoping to find some hidden treasure, turned all the bones out, but did not discover either coin, amulet, or bead, or indeed ornament of any description. The man states, that not far distant (indeed, within a few hundred yards), there is an old wood, which, from the abrupt and uneven character of its surface, probably contains Roman remains; and I extremely regret that opportunity would not permit me to make a thorough examination of the spot. Hastily written as my note is, it may perhaps be sufficient to explain the circumstances of the discovery of these remains, and to turn the attention of local antiquaries to the subject. Near St. Margaret's village, I see there are the remains of two barrows, and I have a small but very complete Roman urn in my possession, kindly presented to me by Mr. James Orton, which was found near St. Margaret's Bay, embedded in the chalk." The antiquities forwarded by Mr. Orton and Mr. Briggs consist of an ampulla, two ollæ, a small olla or porulum, a patera inscribed OF PATRIC of redware, a tympanum and a patera, both of dark-coloured earth.

Mr. W. H. Black exhibited a remarkably fine and perfect specimen of

the "Bellarmine" jug or bottle, found at the depth of sixteen feet in the passage leading from Leman-street to Mill-yard, Goodman's-fields, on the 14th of October last.

Mr. F. J. Baigent made the following communication:—

"On Friday last I paid a visit to Aldermaston church, in the neighbourhood of Newbury, Berks, and traced a piece of glass representing the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin; and afterwards thinking it might be interesting to the Association, I have herewith enclosed it. Aldermaston church consists of a nave with a tower at the west end, having a broach spire, a chancel, and chantry, on the south side of the nave. The chancel is early decorated, with some debased windows, as also is the nave. The east window consists of three lights, and in the lower part of the centre light is the piece of glass represented in the tracing; the figures are placed within a circle of blue glass surrounded with a white-beaded border. This glass appears to belong to the decorated period: the figures are somewhat stiff, while that of the Blessed Virgin resembles the same figure painted on the inside of the lid of the chest in Newport church, Essex, engraved in the third volume of the *Journal*. The *inscription* on the scroll was concealed with a coat of dark colour, which I partly cleaned off; this, perhaps, was done, not so much out of objection to the words, as to prevent its being destroyed; in the same manner as we meet with numerous brasses of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, especially in the neighbourhood of London, having the words "*Of your Charity pray for the Soul of*" and the concluding words "*On whose soul may God have mercy,*" erased. In the tracery of this window is another fragment of glass of the same date, representing the coronation of the Blessed Virgin. It is rather mutilated, but still good. The Almighty and the Blessed Virgin are represented sitting side by side, and strongly resembling the painting of this subject discovered in the tomb of bishop Fox, in Winchester Cathedral, when opened in the year 1820. Owing to this piece of glass being so high up, I was unable to copy it. In the lights of these windows there are also eight circular pieces of glass of the time of Henry VIII, consisting of armorial bearings and quarterings of the Foster family. This is all the painted glass remaining in the church. In the chantry is a *fine* alabaster tomb with the effigies of sir George Foster, knight, son and heir of sir Humphrey Foster; and Elizabeth, his wife, daughter and hieress of John de la Mare, esq., brother and heir of sir Thomas de la Mare. The date of the death of the lady is only recorded, viz., 1522, a blank being left for inserting that of sir George: both figures have the collar of SSS. Round the sides of the tomb are several figures placed beneath canopies, no doubt intended for friends or relatives. This church has nothing further worth noticing, saving a niche about a foot high and six inches deep in jamb on either side of the chancel-arch, the use or intention of which I am at a loss to conceive."

Mr. Lynch laid before the Association some interesting letters from pope Innocent XI, Louis XIV, and lady Anna Vittoria Montecucoli, accompanying them with some observations. (See *Original Documents*, pp. *ante*, 335-347.)

The rev. Thomas Hugo presented to the Association some pieces of Roman pottery, with several beautiful portions of ornamentation, lately obtained from Ribchester. They were referred for further examination, and to be arranged with the collection presented by lord de Tabley, constituting the results obtained at the excavations made for the Manchester and Lancaster Congress. (See *Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 229-251.)

NOVEMBER 24.

The rev. Henry Blanc, M.A., of Wormley, Herts, and Charles Baily, esq., of Newark, were elected associates.

The rev. R. J. Hodgkinson, of Newark; the rev. J. F. Dimock, M.A., of Southwell; and John Adkins Barton, esq., of Newport, were elected correspondents.

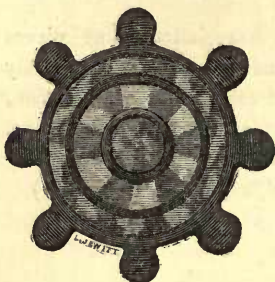
The thanks of the Association were voted to the rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., for his present of Roman remains found at Ribchester.

Mr. F. J. Baigent made the following communication on a pilgrim's token found at Winchester: "The pilgrim's token now exhibited, I purchased of a labourer on the 10th of June last, who stated that he had recently found it in digging the foundations of a new district church in the parish of St. Mary's, Kalendar, Winchester; near the north walls, between the streets known as Upper and Middle Brooks. Whilst digging, the men came upon the foundations of some strong walls, indeed, upon a foundation or layer of flints, which no doubt were the remains of one of the two churches which appear to have existed near this spot, St. Martin's, or St. Pancras'. The token, (see cut) which is of lead, was found about nine or ten feet below the surface of the ground, just within, and on the surface as it were, of the above mentioned foundation. The subject intended to be represented, is the coronation of the Blessed Virgin, and apparently from there being so little room on this small tablet, the artist adopted the simpler representation of the Eternal Son receiving his Holy Mother, on whose head he has just placed the crown. But the most usual way of depicting this event is otherwise, God the Father and God the Son jointly holding the crown over the head of the Blessed Virgin kneeling before them, the Third Person represented as a dove in the midst. This little tablet is probably of the time of Edward II,



and most beautifully executed, with a good deal of taste and skill, as well as expression, and to all appearance without a fault to mar its beauty."

Mr. Joseph Warren forwarded a drawing of a bronze fibula (see cut annexed) lately found in Ixworth churchyard, whilst digging a grave. It is quite flat, and has only one projection to form the hinge, so that the pin must have been slit to work on it. That circumstance induces Mr. Warren to regard it as Saxon, the Roman ones in his possession being all furnished with two projections for the hinges, the pin working betwixt them, the fibula is enamelled, and the enamel is pretty perfect in the

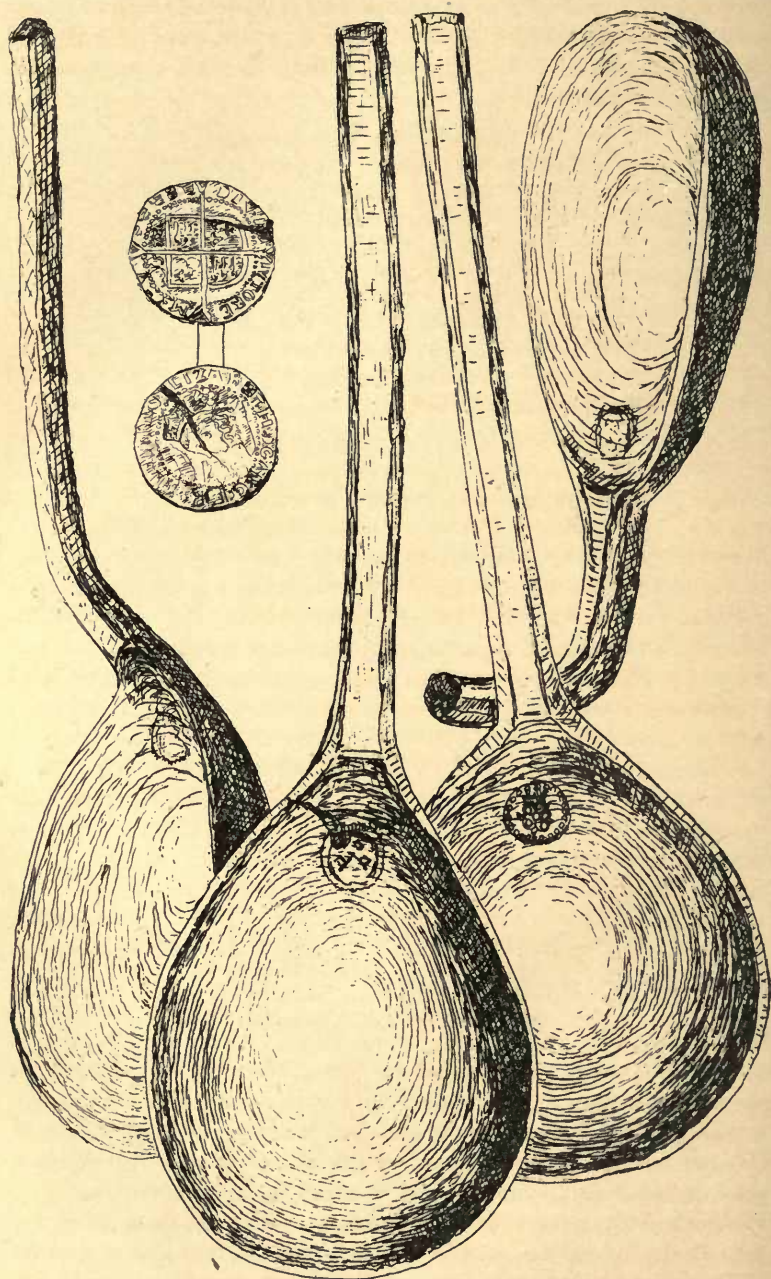


middle circle; from the outer and centre ones it is unfortunately gone. The green enamel border and centre relieve the alternate blue and yellow divisions, and give it a peculiarly elegant appearance. A few years since, a fibula of similar character was found at York, and regarded as being decidedly Roman.

Mr. A. H. Burkitt laid before the Association the rubbing of a brass monument to Ethelred, king of Wessex, in the chancel of Wimbourne Minster, Dorset. There are certain peculiarities about this monument which have escaped the notice of Hutchins, the historian of the county. It is constituted of three pieces, the effigy and the escocheon being of different metal to the plate, which is betwixt them, bearing the inscription, and appear to have evidence of being of an earlier date. Camden copies Leland:—"King Ethelrede was byried by her (St. Cuthburga), whos tumber was lately repaired, and a marble stone ther layid with an image of a king in a plate of brasse, with this inscription: In hoc loco quiescit corpus St. Ethelredi regis West-Saxonum martyris qui A^o. Dom. 827. 13 Aprilis per manus Danorum paganorum occubuit." It is scarcely possible to imagine that Leland could have copied the present inscription, which gives a date of "Anno Dom. 873. 23 die Aprilis," and *Dacorum*, instead of Danorum. Be that as it may, the Saxon Chronicle, Simeon Dunelmensis, Huntingdon and Hovenden, put his death after Easter 871, and Matthew of Westminster, 9 Cal. Maii in the same year, from a wound received while fighting with his brother Alfred against the Danes at a place called Merton, probably Merden in Wiltshire.

Mr. C. Lynch laid before the meeting an imperfect copy of an illuminated Book of Offices, of the latter part of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, which in the initial letters contained representations of the armorial bearings of distinguished characters, among others of modern France and England, a label of five points, impaling Fitz-Alan and Warren; De Bohun impaling the same; Fitz-Alan and Warren impaling Montacute, etc. To exhibit these, was how-

From "The Rangle", Walton-le-dale, near Preston, Lancashire.



Drawn & etched by Thomas Hugo, 74A. 1852.

ever not the object of Mr. Lynch, but to call attention to the following curious "Spiritual Will," written in the handwriting of the time of Edward IV., at the end of the book. These lines are based upon the following Latin distich:—

"Terram terra tegat; Demon peccata resumat;
Mundus res habeat; Spiritus alta petat."

"In iiij poyntes my will, or I hens departe,
Reason me moveth to make as I may.

Terram
terra
tegat.

First unto the erthe I bequethe his part;
My wreched careyn is but foule clay,
Lyke than to like, erthe in erthe to lay.
Sith it is accordyng by hit I will abide.
As for the first poynt of my will
Is that erthe erthe hyde.

Demon
peccata
resumat.

Myne horrible synnes that so sore me bynde,
With weighte me oppresse that lyen so many a folde,
So many in nombre, so sundry in kynde;
The fende by his instance to them made me bolde
From hym they com, to hym than I yelde wold;
Wherefore the ij^{de} poynt of my will is this,
That the fende receyve my synnes as his.

Mundus
res
habeat.

What avaieth goodes to me, I ones deed & roten;
Them all & some, I leve peny & pounce,
Truly or untruly some, I trow, mysgoten,
T[h]ough I not of whome, how, nor in what grounde.
The worldes they ben, them in the worlde I founde;
And therfore the iiij^{de} poynt is clerely my will,
All my worldly goodes let the worlde have still.

Spiritus
alta
petat.

Now for the iiijth poynt, and than have I doo
Nedefull for the soule me thynkes to provide.
Hens must I nedes, but whether shall I goo,
I doughte my demerytes, which payse on every syde;
But Goddes mercy shall I trust to be my gide,
Under whose lycence yet while I may brethe
Unto hevyn on high my soule I bequethe."

The rev. Thomas Hugo exhibited a coin of Elizabeth, and four pewter spoons of the same reign, which were found by Thomas Turner, in the employ of John Clarke, a brickmaker, in excavating for a substratum of clay, on the 11th of February last, on the site of an ancient house at a place called "the Ranglet", near Cooper Fold, in the township of Walton-le-Dale, near Preston, Lancashire. They are remarkable for their thickness, and also for the flatness of their surface, and were given by the finder to his master, who presented them to a friend for the exhibitor. See plate 39.

Mr. Lott exhibited four leaden weights of the time of Charles I, recently found in the city of London, behind Gerard's Hall, and Mr. Brewer read a paper "Upon the Antiquity of the Custom of Marking and Stamping Weights and Measures." See pp. 309-322, *ante*.

Mr. George Vere Irving stated that he had "had occasion frequently while in Scotland to direct professionally his attention to the subject of weights and measures, and that it was a curious and interesting one. A great deal of information was to be found in the *Reports* of the parliamentary committees who had investigated the matter.

"It would appear that in most countries it was the custom to entrust the custody of the standard weights and measures to the royal burghs. No one town possessed a complete set, but one standard was committed to the care of each. The Winchester bushel was a well known example of this in England, while in Scotland, Linlithgow possessed the standard boll and firloft. Edinburgh the ell, and Stirling the pint.

"The Scottish Statute book", Mr. Irving remarked, "is full of enactments on the subject, extending back to the earliest times. The first of the printed Acts is one passed in the fourth parliament of king James I, but it expressly refers to a previous statute of king David I. The constant aim of the legislature was to secure an uniformity in the weights and measures throughout the whole kingdom. The Act of the fourteenth parliament of James II proceeds on the preamble, 'that sen we have bot a king and a law universal throw out the realme we suld have bot a mette and measour general to serve all the realme', and declares, 'gif ony persones after the said termes usis uther measures than thir and there may be taint gollen thereof be dittay or utherwaies they sall pay the unlaw of the Chalmerlaine air double.' Although these pains and penalties were again and again reenacted in subsequent parliaments, the praiseworthy efforts of the legislature were perfectly fruitless; and the greatest diversity of weights and measures continued to exist in the different districts. For instance, hay is sold in Lanarkshire by a stone of 22 lbs. In Dumfriesshire, the adjoining county, by one of 26 lbs.; and in Galloway by one of 30 lbs., I believe. The alleged reason for this was a greater distance from market, and the expediency of a fixed price,—parties preferring to give a larger quantity rather than accept a less sum for their commodities.

"Recent legislation, it must be admitted, has not mended the matter in the least, but rather increased the evil. The Act introducing the imperial weights and measures, most unaccountably, does not prohibit the use of any others; on the contrary, it permits them, provided the proportion they bear to the imperial standard is stated in the bargain, and it is only where this has been neglected that it declares the transaction null and void. The result has been, that a wide door is opened for fraud, and that the country has reaped a full crop of mistakes, misunderstandings, and consequent litigation."

Mr. Pettigrew laid before the meeting the encaustic tiles obtained from Thurgarton Priory at the late Congress; and by the kind permission of their associate, the proprietor, Richard Milward, esq., engraved in the last number of the *Journal*. Mr. Planché made particular allusion to that marked 4 in the plate (vide *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, plate 31, p. 249). Mr. Jewitt, in his paper, called it a hood; it was not a hood, but a cap, called "abocock, abococket, or bycockett", a badge used in the coronation of Elizabeth of York, queen of Henry VII. That tile was a very early one. It was a badge of an early noble family.

Mr. W. H. Rolfe exhibited an ivory drinking horn recently obtained at Mr. Curling's sale at Deal. From the carving upon it, it was looked upon as of the time of Edward IV.

Mr. Gunston exhibited some very fine rubbings taken from military brasses, and illustrative of the specimens of chain-mail and bascinets exhibited at the previous meeting. In the earliest examples, a far higher degree of artistic excellence is manifested than at the subsequent period.

"No. 1. Sir Robert Septvans, 1306.—In the chancel of the church at Chartham, Kent. This very interesting cross-legged effigy is armed, with the exception of the knee-plates, in a complete suit of interlaced chain-mail, surmounted by a flowing surcoat emblazoned with arms reaching below the knees; the coif de mailles is thrown back, and the terminations of the sleeves, forming gauntlets, hang down from the wrists, the uplifted hands being bare. The long straight sword, with highly ornamented scabbard and sword-belt curiously arranged, hangs from the right front across the figure; the large concave shield is charged with armorial bearings, as is also the ailettes, which are worn to rise lozengewise above the shoulders; and from the heels, fastened by straps, project single point or pryck spurs. The peculiar wave of the long and flowing hair is highly characteristic of the period. The letters of the inscription, and the two small heater-shaped shields are lost; the fan, so clearly represented, is the ancient instrument of wicker-work for winnowing corn, and it is worthy of remark, that there are seven fans displayed on the figure, besides the independent charges of the shield.

"No. 2. John Cray, 1380.—Nave of St. Andrew's church, Chinnor, Oxon. This knight is represented in a close-fitting jupon with scalloped border reaching below the hips, beneath which is seen the haubergeon; the head is covered by a pointed bascinet, from which hangs the camail of ring-mail drawn round the face and chin, over which protrudes the moustaches, and falling over the neck and shoulders like a tippet; the arms are encased in brassarts of plate, with elbow pieces of a small size, and at the shoulders are epaulieres constructed of several overlapping plates; cuissarts and jambarts of plate enclose the legs and small gussets of mail are worn at the shoulders, back of knee-joints, and ankles; the gauntlets are of plate, as also the pointed sollerets, with spurs of the

rouelle form which rest upon a lion; the broad and richly ornamented sword-belt is girded over the hips, and the misericorde and sword are adjusted after a fashion rarely represented in brasses of this period; part only of the inscription remains, and at the right of the figure is a shield. Chequy: on a chief a demi-lion rampant.

"No. 3. De Malyns, 1390.—Chinnor, Oxon. This effigy, with those of his two wives, lie upon the floor of the north aisle of the church, and are not mentioned by Cotman or Bowtell, only a small portion of either lady is to be seen, the remainder being under the flooring of the pews. In this example, the haubergeon and knee-goussets are not shewn; and the long, straight, tapering sword, with scabbard ornamented at each end, hangs slopingly outwards from the figure, on the left side, from a slightly curved belt.

"No. 4. De Grey, 1420.—On an altar-tomb in the south transept of St. Mary's church, Thame.—This much-mutilated brass exhibits the knight appointed in a complete suit of plate armour, the globular bascinet, slightly pointed at its apex, is attached to a steel gorget fringed with mail, which rests upon the cuirass; and from the waist hangs six taces; the limbs are armed, after the preceding fashion, with elongated palettes and fan-shaped coudieres; the long heavy sword is attached to a narrow belt which crosses diagonally; the gauntlets have very small cuffs; and to the pointed sollerets are affixed dress spurs.

"No. 5. Sir Nicholas Manston, 1444.—Mural church of St. Lawrance, Isle of Thanet. This knight of the Lancastrian period, wears the collar of SS, and exhibits palettes of a very peculiar form, the long sword hangs perpendicularly from the left side, and the misericorde has its blade placed behind the figure, the sollerets have long rowelled spurs, and rest upon a greyhound. Between Romans Gate, or Ramsgate, and Minster, are the remains of a mansion, called Manston Court, for several generations the inheritance of a family of the same name.

"No. 6. John Daundelyon, 1445.—North aisle, St. John's church, Margate. In this brass may be seen the gradual addition of various plates for the purpose of additional protection: from the taces, which amount to five, are affixed pointed tuilles, between which appears some defence of mail; each placcate and garde de bras differs in character altogether one from the other, and the gauntlets have very large cuffs. About a mile from Margate is a gate-house and grounds, called Dandelion, formerly in the possession of a family called Dent de Lion.

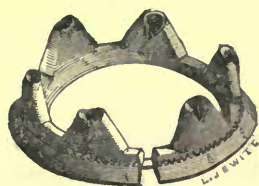
"No. 7. Richard Quartermayns, 1460.—Lies on a richly-panelled altar-tomb in the south transept of the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Thame, Oxon. This figure exemplifies an extravagant variety of knightly panoply: the pauldrons, which protect the shoulders, differ from each other in size and form; this is also the case with the extraordinary coudieres; the head is bare, and the throat encircled by a collar of mail

deeply indented at the edge; under the taces, which are contracted, is either a skirt of mail, or a narrow band attached; the *tuilles* extend over the thighs and hips, and the *genouillieres* have overlapping plates to guard the joints behind; the sword hangs directly in front of the figure, sloping towards the left side, from a narrow belt girded about the waist, and the cuffs are very large. There were originally four shields of arms, one at each corner of the slab; of these one only now remains, and this still retains a portion of the original heraldic tinctures. This knight was highly esteemed by Richard duke of York, and by his son, Edward earl of March, afterwards king Edward the Fourth.

"No. 8. Henry Savill and wife, 1530.—On the east wall of St. Mary's church, Islington; originally in the old church. The hands are here represented as being bare, as is also the head, which reposes upon the tilting helm; the pauldrons have pass-gardes to protect the neck, and beneath the *tuilles* is a full skirt of mail; the dagger, of unusual size, is worn on the right side; the sword, having the blade crossing behind the legs, is girded at the left; and sabbatons, with gussets of mail, supersede the pointed *sollerets*. The lady was Margaret, daughter of Thomas Fowler of Islington, one of the most considerable families in the parish during the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First.

Mr. John Moore, of West Coker, Yeovil, communicated to the Association that he was in possession of a picture reported to be painted by Quintin Matsys, the subject "Christ's Agony in the Garden". The three disciples are sleeping in the fore ground, Judas, etc., entering the garden-gate. At the two lower corners of the picture are certain arms, and on the left hand upper corner a cup, which has a cross on the top of it. The arms are—1. *Or* diapered, impaling *gules*, a fess *argent*. Quere the archduchy of Austria? 2. *Gules* three gardener's hoes or picks? in fess *argent*. The cross in the cup is formed by one of the instruments in the second coat of arms placed diagonally across an upright, both *gules*.

Mr. Ashpitel exhibited a bronze fibula, which is considered as Roman, though varying from any known example. It is in the form of a diadem, with six points, on the top of each of which a precious stone has been inserted. It is here engraved of the full size.



DECEMBER 8.

Charles Baily, esq., of Newark, was elected an associate.

The following presents were received, and the thanks of the Association voted for the same.

From the Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Bulletins de la Société. 6 Numbers. 1851-52. 8vo.

From the Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851. Second Report to the Right Hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole, etc. 1852. 8vo.

Sir Fortunatus Dwaris, V. P. Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Antiquities, etc., illustrative of Irish History, exhibited in the Museum, Belfast. 1852. 8vo.

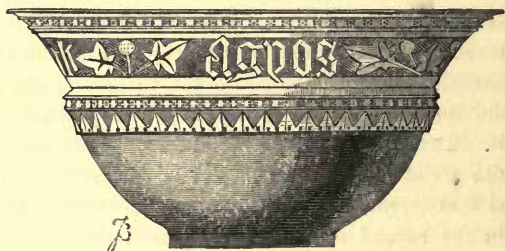
Mr. W. H. Rolfe exhibited an embossed brick, found in Sandwich, supposed to have been used in one of the ecclesiastical buildings, and representing in full relief two Christians being stoned to death by two soldiers in Roman costume.

Mr. Rolfe also exhibited the mouth-piece of an ancient drinking-horn found in a garden at Sandwich; a carving of a stag's-head in wood, and a pound weight of the time of Elizabeth, purchased at a marine store-shop in Sandwich. The crown on the weight is well engraved, and the date of 1588, memorable for the defeat and destruction of the Spanish Armada, which is also upon the weight, together with the peculiar metal of which it is composed, renders it not improbable that it had been formed from ordnance taken on that occasion.

Mr. Rolfe likewise laid before the Association two silver decade rings. They are good specimens of the kind, and are preserved with the above-mentioned articles in the museum of Mr. Rolfe, of Sandwich.

Sir Fortunatus Dwaris exhibited a good specimen of stone celt, obtained from Killarney.

Mr. F. J. Baigent forwarded a drawing of a drinking bowl. It is here (see cut annexed) shown half the size. It was sold at Winchester last week, being the property of an old inhabitant lately



deceased. The bowl is circular, measuring five inches and a quarter in diameter. The lower part is of wood, and surmounted by a rim of silver, which has been gilt, measuring in depth two inches and one-fifth, making the height of the bowl three inches and four-fifths. On the outside of the silver rim is the following inscription: "POTUM ET NOS BENEDICAT AGGOS."¹ Between each of the words are represented two leaves, which may be intended for ivy, an emblem of eternal life. Its date is about 1510, and the inscription may be translated thus—"O Holy One, bless

¹ It was no unusual circumstance to spell the Greek word ΑΓΓΟΣ with a *y* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mr. Baigent has found it so spelt in one of the earliest printed editions of the Sarum Missal, a copy of which is in his possession, of the date of the earlier part of the reign of Henry VIII, just the period to which the bowl here represented must be referred.

the drink and us." These words bear a striking resemblance to those of the old Catholic grace before meals.

Mr. Newton submitted to the meeting the impression of a gnostic ring, found in Whittlesey Mere, in which is represented a figure with four heads, similar to some described by Mr. Cuming in his paper on Polycephalic Amulets. See pp. 1-6, *ante*.

The rev. Benjamin Mardon read the following communication from his friend Mr. Meeke, of Royston, and exhibited a specimen of Roman buckle, portions of glass, etc., found in a tumulus, the site of which is at the extreme west end of Royston heath, not *on*, but at the *foot* of the hills, and on a level with the high road from Royston to Baldock.

"The tumulus was about thirty feet in diameter, and from five to six feet in vertical height. It was entirely removed during the month of March of the present year. It was of the bowl-shape, and while being removed, I visited the spot several times, and think I may confidently say, that nothing was found in the mound itself. When it had been about three parts removed, I suggested to the workman, that a grave might probably be discovered about the centre of the mound, below the level of the face of this part of the heath. On striking the foot smartly on the middle of the site of the tumulus, a somewhat different sound was observed from that which came forth from any other portion of the site. On applying the spade, it was soon found that it penetrated the soil or ground more easily in the centre than in any other part. But as the workman was now about to desist from his work, nothing more could be done that day. On the succeeding day, I again visited the spot, and found the man had opened the grave that morning, beside which lay the contents, consisting of small pieces of chalk and flint from half an inch to two inches in diameter, mixed with vegetable mould, together with the bones of an entire human skeleton. The workman assured me, that nothing else had been found in the grave. Of this, I am not *perfectly* satisfied. I had, however, the whole contents of the grave sifted over before I left the spot, and you are in possession of all I could detect, except some bits of bone.

"The grave had been sunk nearly east and west, was about five and a-half feet long, and about two and a-half feet deep. The glass in your possession appears to indicate that the interment was made either during the residence of the Romans in this island, or soon after their departure.

"About three hundred yards south of the site of the above tumulus, on the edge of a hill, is a series of pits, no doubt of British origin, about twenty-four in number. About a mile and a-half east, are six large tumuli, five bowl-shaped, and one in the shape of an inverted ship. And about five yards south-west of these, in a glade, is the site of a British town. About a mile and a-half in a northerly direction, in the midst of a large field, on the highest part of some rising ground, is a magnificent

tumulus, about thirty yards in diameter, and twelve or fourteen feet in vertical height. It has not been opened. There are many other tumuli in the neighbourhood."

Mr. Gunston exhibited some Roman lamps found in London, and at other places, which were referred for examination and future arrangement. One of these offered a very fine specimen of black earth, found among cinerary urns, horns, and bones of oxen, boars' tusks, etc., in Walbrook, in the present year; another, a circular one, had the letters I. H.; a fragment of another had a Christian monogram, exhibiting the symbol adopted by Constantine the Great, on the royal standard, immediately after his vision, and the defeat of Maxentius. This monogram was also shown upon several coins exhibited to the meeting.

Mr. Planché read a paper, entitled "Archæological Gleanings at Lincoln and Southwell." See pp. 304-309, *ante*.

A paper by the rev. Edmund Kell, on coins and other relics found in excavating a part of the marsh contiguous to Newport, Isle of Wight, with notices of other coins lately discovered in the same locality, was read. See pp. 323-330, *ante*.

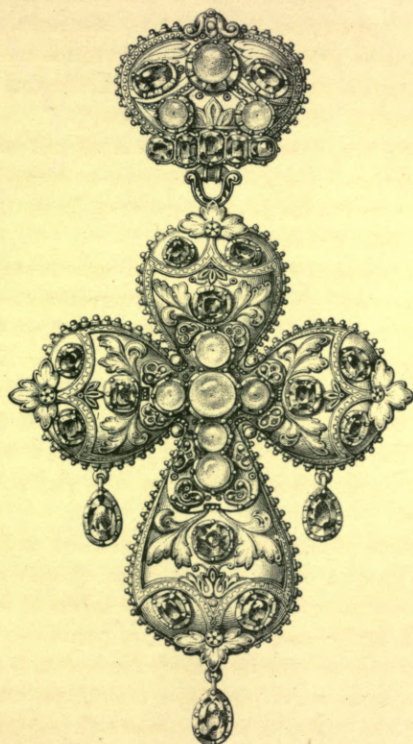
Mr. Lynch exhibited a jewel supposed to have belonged to Mary queen of Scots, accompanied by the following observations:—

"The jewel (see plate 40) is now the property of Mr. Simon Prince, of No. 109, Trongate, Glasgow, and is stated to have been imported from the continent. It was found to correspond in form with the cross depicted in the portrait of Mary queen of Scots at Holyrood; and being surmounted by the Scottish crown, and ornamented with Scottish pearls, attracted considerable notice in Glasgow, as a probable relic of that unfortunate queen.

"Under these circumstances, it was forwarded to Miss Agnes Strickland, with the view of eliciting the opinion of that accomplished lady, whose well known judgment and practised habits of investigation are no less appreciated in the north than they are universally recognized in the south; and, if I may be allowed a short digression, it must be a satisfaction to the Scotch to know that Miss Strickland, after a most patient investigation of the evidence, *pour et contre*, is prepared to vindicate the character of their beautiful and accomplished, but unfortunate, queen from the foul aspersions which the forgeries and machinations of her enemies have cast around her. The cross has now, at the request of Miss Strickland, been placed in my hands, in order to obtain the opinion of the members of the British Archæological Association.

"The workmanship is evidently of two different periods, the crown and centre cross being of an earlier date than the very elegant cross of larger dimensions which has been manufactured to incorporate with the more ancient portion, and to which it assimilated in border ornamentation.

"The crown and small cross are of silver gilt, and elaborately en-



graved on the reverse with arabesque designs; this portion bears the Scotch pearls, is probably of Scottish workmanship, and may be supposed of an earlier date than the time of queen Mary. The addition to it is stated to be of French workmanship; it is exquisitely enamelled both on the front and back, and is of pure gold, richly studded with rubies, and has three ruby pendants. It has been suggested by Mr. Planché that the arms of the larger cross have been swelled out in imitation of the fleur-de-lys, thus characteristic of Mary queen of France as well as of Scotland; and on the top of the lyre-shaped ornament, which connects the crown with the body of the cross, a fleur-de-lys is, I think, clearly designed. The whole is ornamented with twenty rubies, two emeralds, and nine pearls, six of the latter forming a cross in front of the small engraved cross, more clearly seen on the back.

“Apart from any family record of this identical jewel, I can only venture to surmise, from the various circumstances which I have mentioned, that this may possibly, even probably, have rested on the bosom of the fair Mary. Magdalene of France, and Mary’s mother, Mary of Lorraine, preceded her on the Scottish throne, and were also connected with France; but if this jewel was manufactured for either of them, still it would probably have descended as an heir loom to that queen, whose memory is so much cherished, whose trinkets are so much prized and valued.

“It was stated that this jewel corresponded also in design with a cross in the portrait of Mary at Hamilton Palace; but Mr. Pettigrew has kindly communicated with his grace the duke of Hamilton on the subject, and his grace has stated that such is not the case.”

Mr. George Vere Irving made the following curious and interesting communication to the Association:—

“In a book of the expenses of the princess Mary, which closes with the year 1522, and is preserved in the chapter-house of Westminster, the following curious entry occurs.

“Item—Pd to a man at Wyndesore for killing of a calffe before my lady’s grace behynde a clothe—8d.”

“Mr. Collier, in his *Annals of the Stage*, conjectures that, as this occurs among disbursements for various amusements, it was probably an entertainment of a dramatic character; but adds that it ‘is inexplicable unless we know the story represented.’ I am happy to say that it is in my power, not only to confirm this conjecture, but to furnish the Association with the text of this early attempt at an ‘At Home.’ As a boy, I had heard this interlude twice represented by private individuals among the working classes of Scotland, on one occasion in Forfarshire, and on another in Lanarkshire. On reading the *Annals of the Stage*, I determined to seize the first opportunity of reducing the entertainment into writing, from the performance of one or other of these persons. Years

elapsed before I had the good fortune to meet either of them. I however at last succeeded in falling in with the Lanarkshire man, and from his mouth I took down the following dialogue, which, although it has necessarily received many alterations from being orally handed down, may yet be supposed to give some idea of the entertainments which in 1522 were supposed capable of amusing a royal princess. I may add that while this constitutes the staple of the performance, it is varied by the *ad libitum* addition of allusions to matters of local or temporary interest.

“There is only one performer, who retires behind the door, or any other screen, and carries on the dialogue in two voices, one of them of course being feigned. He at the same time, or (to speak more correctly) when the story requires it, imitates other sounds, such as grinding, etc., by the aid of his bonnet, a piece of stone rubbed on the flags, or other equally rude expedients.

“The *dramatis personæ* consist of: first, a carrier or cadger, a person who travels the district from time to time, with the view of purchasing calves, poultry, and dairy produce, which he conveys to market, and brings back tea, sugar, tobacco, and numerous other articles required by his customers: second, a small farmer in a remote district, who it must be admitted is a notable example of the Maclarty school, a class now almost unknown, and affording the strongest contrast to that educated in the principles of Smith and Stephens.

“Between these persons, the following dialogue is supposed to take place, in which the farmer is styled Wattie (Walter), but the cadger remains anonymous.

THE KILLING OF A CALF.

(*A knocking heard*).

C. Are you in, Wattie?

W. Ah, maun, I'm jist here.

C. Are you a' weel, Wattie?

W. Oh, maun, oure Meg's no weel.

C. What's the matter wie her, Wattie?

W. She's been ill these achteen wecks.

C. That's a lang time, Wattie, achteen wecks.

W. No, maun, I'm wrang, it's only achteen days.

C. But that's no the question, Wattie, dye ken any body that has a gude fat calf to sell?

W. Oh, maun, I hae a prime ane.

C. Where hae ye it, Wattie?

W. In below.

[*Wattie goes and brings the calf.*]

C. Wattie, that's no a fat calf, it's as hard as wude.

W. Oh, maun, find the belly o't, ye'll no find a bane in it a'.

C. Daft fule, Wattie, wha ever fand banes in a calf's belly, but that's no the question. What will ye tak for the calf?

W. I'll tak five groats.

C. But, I'll no gie ye five groats, but if ye'll kill the calf, and skin the calf and carry the calf hame for me, I'll gie ye foure groats, and ilka hole ye cut in the calf's skin shall be a groat out of the price o't.

W. It's a bargain.

[*They shake hands.*]

C. Weel, Wattie, what will we get to kill the calf. Ha ye an axe or a hammer?

W. Oh, maun, there's na sik a thing, but I'll tell ye what we'll get, we'll get oure Meg's clog.

C. Where hae ye it, Wattie?

W. In below.

C. Gang away and fetch it.

[*Wattie goes and returns.*]

C. Wattie, this is surely a very auld clog, where did Meg get it?

W. Oh, maun, it belanged to her great grandmither.

[*Wattie strikes at the calf, misses, hits his own leg, and falls.*]

W. Oh, dear! oh, dear! oh, dear!

C. What's wrang, noo, Wattie?

W. Oh, maun, I've broken my leg.

C. Oh, Wattie, it'll surely no be broken.

W. Oh, maun, if it's no broken, it's ill bowed.

C. Hout's, Wattie, I dinna think it muckle the waur.

W. Oh, maun, I'm glad o' that.

C. Let me try if I can fell the calf.

[*He strikes, and the calf falls.*]

W. Eh, maun, but you're gude at it.

C. Noo, Wattie, hae you a knife or oucht about ye to skin the calf?

W. Oh, maun, there is nae sik a thing, but I'll tell ye what we'll get. I've a prime razor.

C. Where hae ye it, Wattie?

W. I hae it in below, maun.

C. Fetch us it, Wattie.

[*Wattie goes and returns.*]

C. Let's see the razor, Wattie. It's an awfu' like razor that. When did ye shave wie it?

W. Oh, maun, I shaved jist yestreen—altho' it didna tak muckle o' the hair aff, it es took aff the dirt and the tobacco slaver.

C. I think sae, Wattie. The sparrows micht big in your beard. But hae ye nae bit sharpin-stane, that we may get this sharpened, for it will never do like this?

W. Oh, maun, I've a prime grindstane.

C. Where hae ye it, Wattie?

W. In below.

C. I think ye've a' below thegither.

[*Wattie goes and returns with grindstone.*]

C. Noo, Wattie, ye'll ca, and I'll haud on.

W. Oh, maun, I'll do that.

[*They grind the razor.*]

W. Oh, maun, but I'm tired noo.

C. Wattie, but it'll no do yet.

W. But I'll no ca nae mair.

C. But I'll gar ye ca.

W. But I winna ca.

[*They fight, Wattie is compelled to resume his task of turning the stone. He sings.*]

C. Ye're singing noo, Wattie.

W. Oh, maun, I was yince a gude singer, I had a voice as gude as a coo, but noo I'm as hearse as a crau.

C. It will do noo, Wattie.

[*Wattie begins to skin the calf.*]

C. Wattie, ye've cutted a hole.—Oh! there's anither ane.

W. Oh, dear! Oh, dear!

C. What's wrang noo, Wattie?

W. Oh, maun, I've cuttid my finger aff.

C. Ye've cuttid anither hole in the skin. That's three groats aff the price o' it. Let me see youre finger, Wattie? Houts, maun, I've seen a waur scart as that wi' a preen.

W. Oh, maun, I'm glad o' that.

[*Wattie finishes the skinning. The skin falls down, and they spread it out.*]

C. Come, maun, let's count and see how many holes are in the skin: ane, twa, three. That's three groats; so that's jist one groat I hae to pay ye, and here's youre groat. Noo I'll help ye on youre back wie it, and gang youre ways wie it.

W. But I'll no tak it.

C. But I'll gar ye tak it.

W. But I winna.

[*They fight, and Wattie is compelled to submit.*]

C. Noo come, Wattie. I'll help you on youre back wie it. Yeho! Wattie. Yeho! Wattie.

[*Wattie loses his balance and falls under the calf.*]

C. Come, Wattie, we'll try it again. Come, Wattie. Yeho! then, Wattie.

W. Oh, maun, it'll do noo.

- C.* Gude nicht then, Wattie, and I wish you safe doon the muir ; for I'm ganging farther up to see if I canna get anither ane.
- W.* Gude nicht ; but ah, maun, dinna tell ourn Meg I cuttit three holes in the skin, for she's baith thrawn and lazy, and she wud jist kill me if she kent.
- C.* No, no, Wattie, I'se no say a word. Gang ye youre ways—I maun away.
- W.* Oh, maun, gude nicht.

[*Exeunt Omnes.*

The meetings of the Association were then adjourned until the 12th of January, 1853.

ERRATA.

Page 68, line 34, for "eastern", read "Easter".

— 69, — 41, for "samples", read "examples".

— 70, — 1, for "sancte", read "sancta".

— 159, — 30, for "Icklington", read "Icklingham".

INDEX TO VOL. VIII.

A.

ALDERMASTON church, painted glass and other relics in, 362
Altar railing at Aix-la-Chapelle, 150
Amulets of the Gnostics, 1
Ancient sports and customs of Nottingham, 229-240
Antiquities discovered on the field of Cuedale, 330-335
Antoninus, on the tenth iter of, 35
Armour, ring and chain, on, 354-360
ASHPITEL, A., exhibits a bronze fibula from Maidstone, 369

B.

BAIGENT, F. J., on wall paintings in Bramdean church, Hants, 155
— on wall paintings in St. John's, Winchester, 156
— on painted glass in Aldermaston church, 362
— on a pilgrim's token found at Winchester, 363
— exhibits a drinking bowl of the time of Henry VII, 370
Barber's hall, visit to, 53
Barber-surgeons of London, history of, 96-130
Barrows and their contents, 156
Bascinet, of the time of Edward III, 354; Mr. Cuming's remarks on, 357
BATEMAN, T., on early burial places discovered in Notts, 183-192
Bellarmine found in Goodman's fields, 361
— and tile found in Spitalfields, 142
Benedict, Biscop, supposed reliquary of, 161
Berkshire, brasses in, 58-62
Berthelet (Thos.), the king's printer's bill, 1541-3. 44-52
BLACK, W. H., exhibits a fine piece of tapestry, 72
— a bellarmine found in Goodman's fields, 361
Book of offices illuminated, exhibited, 364
Bowl, a drinking one of the time of Henry VII, exhibited, 370
Box of the time of Elizabeth, exhibited, 151
Bramdean church, wall paintings in, 155
Brasses, rubbings of, observations on, by F. A. Carrington, 138
Brass seal, 154
Breviary, illuminated, of the 14th century, 141
BREWER, T., on the Guildhall of the City of London, 83-94
— on the antiquity of marking and stamping weights and measures, 309-322
BRIDGER, C., on a brass representing a sergeant-at-arms, 360
BRIGGS, J. J., exhibits a couteau de chasse, found on Coleorton moor, 64
— notes on St. Bride's in Derbyshire, 152
— on Roman remains found near Dover, 361
Bronze, on the analysis of, 145
— fibula from Maidstone, exhibited, 369

BRUSHFIELD, T. N., exhibits a Roman camp-pot, 54
— jet beads and figure of a bear found at Bootham, 160
— an ossea tibia, 161
BURKITT, A. H., on objects ascribed to the worship of Diana found in London, 56
— exhibits drawing of the discovery of the body of bishop Lyndwode, 63
— on two diminutive coffin lids found in Cannon-street, 68
— exhibits and describes a gold Saxon cross, 139
— on tradesmen's signs, 162
— on excavations near the Roman wall on Tower-hill, 240-242
— on a brass of king Ethelred, 364
BUTTERWORTH, J. W., on the proposed removal of Gerard's Hall, 150

C.

CARRINGTON, F. A., on rubbings from brasses in Berkshire, 58-62
— further remarks on the brass of John Trembras, of Penkevill, 72
— further observations on the rubbings of brasses, 138
Carvings, embroidery, and chasings from Spain and Portugal, 154
Carvings in ivory and wood exhibited, 139-370
CAVANAGH, T. E., exhibits spurs found at Wexford, 55
Celt from Ireland exhibited, 370
Charles I, specimens of the coinage of, 77
Chessmen in jet, found at Warrington, 162
Chinese (ancient) vases, 18
— bottles in Egyptian tombs, 156
CLARKE, JAS., exhibits a testoon of Edward VI, found at Framlingham, 159
— gold coin found at Hoo, *ib.*
— on a Roman vault at Roses Pit, *ib.*
— exhibits a silver penny found at Ipswich, 360
— halfpenny of Henry V found at Manningtree, *ib.*
Coffin lids found in Cannon-street, 68
Coins of Cunobeline, on the, 9
— discovered in a marsh contiguous to Newport, Isle of Wight, 323-330
COPLAND, J., exhibits a curious box of the time of Elizabeth, 151
Cuedale, on the field of, 330-335
CUMING, H. S., on the polyccephalic amulets of the gnostics, 1-6
— on a Roman bronze lamp found in London, 57
— on pot-hooks and hangers, 73-77
— on the Pan cases of India, 156-159
— on ring and chain armour, 354-360
Cunobeline, on the coins of, 9

D.

Dagger found at Coleorton Moor, 64
DAVIS, F. H., on a bill of Berthelet, printer to Henry VIII, 73

DAVIS, F. H., exhibits specimens of the coinage of Charles I, 77
Decade rings exhibited, 370
Diana, on objects ascribed to the worship of, found in London, 56
DIMOCK, J. F., on the architectural history of the church of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, of Southwell, 265-303
DUESBURY, H., observations on Morley church, and Dale abbey, 34
— on the fortifications of London, 149
Dutch tobacco box, elaborately engraved, 139
DWARRIS, SIR F., on the forest laws, courts, and customs, and chief justices in Eyre, 173-182
— exhibits a celt from Ireland, 370

E.

Esry church windows, 6
EGAN, CHAS., on the fortifications of London, 149
Elizabeth, coin of and pewter spoons, found in Lancashire, 365
— silver penny of, 78
Embossed brick, exhibited, 370
Embroidered ecclesiastical vestments, observations on, 143
Enamel, dug up at Petworth, 143
Enamelled brooch, found at Ixworth, 364
Eneastic tiles from Thurgarton priory, 367
— observations on, *ib.*
Ethelred, brass of, at Wimbourne Minster, 364

F.

Forest laws, courts and customs, sir F. Dwaris on, 173-182
Fortifications of London erected by Cromwell, 140

G.

Gerard's hall, on the removal of, 150-154
— leaden weights found near, 366
Giffard, charters relating to the family of, 348-351
Glass, painted, in Morley church, 28
— Aldermaston church, 362
Gnostics, on the polycephalic amulets of the, 1
Gnostic ring, exhibited, 371
Gold coin found at Hoo, 159
GOULD, N. exhibits a series of drawings of the fortifications of London erected by Cromwell, 140
Grimes's grave, Norfolk, account of, 77
Guernsey, sepulchral cave at, 64-67
Guildhall of the city of London, Mr. Brewer's observations on, 83-94
GUNSTON, T., exhibits a Dutch tobacco box, 139
— eneastic tiles from Oxfordshire, 151
— rubbings from bells in Oxfordshire, 151
— oak carvings from Oxfordshire, 151
— a silver ring, 151
— a pilgrim's token found in Brick hill lane, 160
— rubbings of various military brasses, 367
— Roman lamps, 372
GUTCH, J. M., on the veritable existence of Robin Hood, 208-222

H.

HALLIWELL, J. O., on the era and character of Robin Hood, 223-229
Hay, John, his charters of the Giffard family, 347-351
Heaume or tilting helmet, on the, 131-137
Henry V, silver halfpenny of, found at Manningtree, 360
Henry VIII, his printer's bill, 1541-3, 44-52
HUO, T., on the field of Cuedale, 330-335
— exhibits Roman pottery from Ribchester, 363
— on a coin of Elizabeth and four pewter spoons found in Lancashire, 365

I.

Innocent XI, letter to Louis XIV, 338, 339
Ireland, various antiquities found in, 143
IRVING, G. V., on the fortifications of London, 147
— observations on weights and measures in Scotland, 366
— on an interlude, "killing a calf, performed before the princess Mary at Windsor," 373-377
Iter, (tenth), of Antoninus, 35
Ivory drinking horn, exhibited, 367

J.

James II and his family, three inedited letters, relating to, 336-347
Jet beads and figure of a bear found at Bootham, 160
Jet chessmen found at Warrington, 162
Jewel of Mary queen of Scots, 372-373
JEWITT, (LL.), on ancient customs and sports of the county of Nottingham, 229-240
JUST, J., on the tenth iter of Antoninus, 35-43
— on the Roman military road within Westmoreland, 78

K.

KELL, E., on coins, &c., found in a marsh contiguous to Newport, Isle of Wight, 323-330
KENDRICK, (Dr.) exhibits curious chessmen in jet, found at Warrington, 162
Killing a calf, an interlude performed before the princess Mary, 373-377
KING, H. W., on antiquities in Runwell church, Essex, 68
— on a seal found at Runwell, 140
— exhibits an illuminated breviary of the 14th century, 141
— exhibits embroidered ecclesiastical vestments, 143

L.

Lamb's conduit and Spring head, 73
LATHAM, J. A., exhibits a silver penny of Elizabeth, 78
Letters, three inedited ones, relating to James II, and his family, 336-347
Louis XIV to pope Innocent XI, 339-341
Lincoln and Southwell, archaeological gleanings at, 304-309
London, on the fortifications of, 147
— on the marking and stamping weights in, 309-322
LOTT, T., exhibits leaden weights of the time of Charles I, 366
LUKIS, F. C., on a sepulchral cave at Guernsey, 64-67
LYNCH, C., on letters relating to James II, 335-347
— exhibits an illuminated book of offices, with armorial bearings and curious spiritual will, 364
— on a jewel supposed to have belonged to Mary queen of Scots, 372-373
Lyndwode, bishop, discovery of the body of, in the under chapel of St. Stephen, 62-63
— account of the examination of the body of, 70-72

M.

MARSHALL, W. Calder, exhibits a brass seal, 154
Mary, the princess, interlude performed before, 373-377
Mary queen of Scots, on a supposed jewel of, 372-373
MEADE, hon. Henry, exhibits a half-crown siege piece struck at Newark, 64; a Roman brass coin struck to commemorate some expedition, *ib.*
MEEKE, J. C., on a tumulus at Royston, 371

Military brasses, exhibited, from A.D. 1306 to 1530; 367-8

MILNER (G.) on sepulchral urns found at Newark, 192-193

Montecucoli, lady Anna Vittoria, letter of, 341-347

N.

NEWARK, CONGRESS AT: List of officers and committees, 243-244; proceedings at, 245-264; reception of the Association by the mayor and aldermen, 245; address of the corporation, *ib.*; reply by the president, 246; inaugural discourse by the Duke of Newcastle, 163-172; Mr. Gutch's paper on the veritable existence of Robin Hood, 208-222; Mr. Planché's remarks on, 247; on the era and character of Robin Hood, 223-229; sir F. Dwaris on the forest laws, courts, and customs, and the Chief Justices in Eyre, north and south of the waters of the Trent, 173-182; excursion to Thurgarton priory, 248; reception by Mr. and Mrs. Milward, *ib.*; observations on the priory, *ib.*; encaustic tiles obtained from, 248-250; remarks on the church, 250; its intended restoration, *ib.*; excursion to Nottingham, 251; reception by the mayor and corporation, *ib.*; the duke of Newcastle's address, *ib.*; the mayor's reply, 252; Mr. Planché's paper on the family of the Peverels of Nottingham, 194-208; visit to subterranean passage, 252; to St. Mary's, *ib.*; to the castle, *ib.*; excursion to Newstead abbey, 253; reception by colonel and Mrs. Wildman, *ib.*; Mr. Ashpitel's observations on its architectural peculiarities and beauties, *ib.*; Mr. Pettigrew's paper on the abbey, *ib.*; various charters, deeds, etc. exhibited, *ib.*; excursion to Worksop, *ib.*; examination of the abbey-gate and the church, *ib.*; observations on, *ib.*; visit to Clumber house, 254; reception by the duke of Newcastle, *ib.*; examination of the library and antiquities, *ib.*; meeting at the Town hall, *ib.*; Mr. Jewitt's paper on the ancient customs and sports of Nottinghamshire, 229-240; Mr. Bateman's paper on the early burial places discovered in the county of Notts, 183-192; on discoveries of urns and other antiquities at Newark in 1836, by Mr. Milner, 192-193; Mr. Baigent's paper on discoveries recently made at Winchester, *ib.*; the demise of the duke of Hamilton obliges the president and treasurer to leave the congress, 255; Mr. Heywood kindly undertakes the presidency for the remainder of the week, *ib.*; visit to Lincoln, *ib.*; reception by the mayor and corporation, and by the authorities of the cathedral, *ib.*; visit to the antiquities of Lincoln under the guidance of the mayor, *ib.*; the Jew's house, *ib.*; tradition connected with the Jews of Lincoln, 256; description of the house, *ib.*; inspection of the cathedral under the direction of archdeacon Bonney, *ib.*; Mr. O'Connor's paper on the painted glass windows, *ib.*; Mr. Ashpitel's observations on the architecture, *ib.*; Mr. Planché on the sculptures, *ib.*; ruins of the bishop's palace, *ib.*; Newport gate, 257; the castle, *ib.*; John O'Gaunt's house and stable, *ib.*; Mr. Dimock's paper on the architectural history of the collegiate church of Southwell, 265-303; Mr. Wickes's paper on the churches of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire, *ib.*; Mr. Haggard's paper on siege pieces struck during the civil wars, 257-260; exhibition of rubbings of brasses by the architectural society of Lincolnshire, 260; inspection of Newark church, *ib.*; brass of Alan Fleming, *ib.*; Newark Castle, 261; excursion to Southwell, *ib.*; reception by archdeacon Wilkins, *ib.*; examination of the structure, *ib.*; Mr. Ashpitel's discourse, 262; visit to All Saints, Hawton, *ib.*; description of it, *ib.*; the sculptures, *ib.*; public dinner, *ib.*; breakfast at the Town hall by the mayor and corporation of Newark, 263; resolutions passed at the meeting, *ib.*; Mr. Saul's paper on an ancient Roman road, near Winches-

ter, *ib.*; visit to Rufford abbey, 264; reception by the earl of Scarborough, *ib.*

Newark, half-crown siege piece struck at, 64
— sepulchral urns found at, 192-193

NEWCASTLE'S, duke of, inaugural discourse at the Newark congress, 163

Newport, Isle of Wight, account of coins, etc., found in a marsh contiguous to, 333-330

NEWTON, W., exhibits a bronze socket from a pilgrim's staff, 360

— exhibits a gnostic ring, 371

Northamptonshire, on recent discoveries in, 67

Nottingham, ancient customs and sports of, 229-240

Nottinghamshire, early burial places discovered in, 183-192

O.

O'CONNOR, M., exhibits various antiquities found in Ireland, 145

OLIVIERA, B., exhibits specimens of carving, embroidery, and chasing in silver, from Spain and Portugal, 154

Oriental weapons, handles of, 156

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, 44, 336

Ossea tibia exhibited, 161

P.

Painted glass in Morley church, 28

— Aldermaston church, 362

Pan cases of India, observations on, 156-159

PETTIGREW, S. T., account of Grimes's graves, Norfolk, 77

— on a Norman font in Welling church, 77

PETTIGREW, T. J., on ancient Chinese vases, 18-27

— on the discovery of the body of bishop Lyndewode in the under chapel of St. Stephens, 62-63

— account of the examination of the body of bishop Lyndewode, 70-72

— history of the barber-surgeons of London, 95-130

— on the analysis of bronze, 145

— exhibits a portion of wax obtained from the bandages of bishop Lyndewode, 145

— on a supposed reliquary of Benedict Biscop, 161

— exhibits encaustic tiles from Thurgarton priory, 367

— W. V., on the analysis of bronze, 145

— exhibits a Pan case, 157-159

Peverel, of Nottingham, on the family of, 194-238

Pilgrim's staff, found at Hitchin, 360

— token, found in Brick hill lane, 160

— at Winchester, 363

Pillow case of the time of Charles II, 139

PLANCHE, J. R., on the manufacture of tapestry, 72

— on the heaume, or tilting helmet, 131-137

— on a sword found in Kent, 150

— on the family of Peverel, of Nottingham, 194-208

— archaeological gleanings at Lincoln and Southwell, 304-309

— on charters relating to the family of Giffard, 347-348

POSTE, BEALE, on the coins of Cunobeline, 9-17

Pot hooks and hangers, on, 73-77

PRATT, S. exhibits a vizored bascinet of the time of Edward III, 354

PRETTY, E., on discoveries recently made in Northamptonshire, 67

R.

Royston, tumulus examined at, 371

Reliquary said to have been abstracted from the coffin of Benedict Biscop, 161

REPTON, J. A., on early church windows, 6-8

— on barrows and their contents, 156

Runwell church, on the antiquities in, 68

— seal found at, 140

Robin Hood, on the veritable existence of, 208-222
 — on the era and character of, 223-229
 ROLFE, W. H., exhibits silver medal of archbishop
 Sanicroft and seven of his suffragans, 64
 — exhibits a pillow case, 139
 — on carvings in ivory and wood ex-
 hibited by, *ib.*
 — exhibits a bellarmine and tile found
 in Spitalfields, 142
 — tradesmen's tokens, 142
 — exhibits an iron spur and keys
 found at Sandwich, 161
 — exhibits an ivory drinking horn, 367
 — exhibits an embossed brick, pound
 weight of Elizabeth, and carvings in wood and
 ivory, 370
 — exhibits silver decade rings, 370
 Roman camp pot found at Walton, 54
 — lamp of bronze found in London, 57
 — lamps exhibited, 372
 — military road within Westmoreland, 78
 — pig of lead found in Hexgrave park, 55
 — pottery from Ribchester, 363
 — remains found at St. Albans, 77
 — near Dover, 361
 — urn dug up at London bridge, 54
 — vault at Roses Pit, 159
 — wall, excavations near, on Tower hill, 240-
 242
 Rubbings of brasses in Berkshire, 58-62
 — belonging to Mr. Baker, of
 Northampton, 154

S

Sanicroft (archbishop) and his suffragans, silver
 medal of, 64
 Saxon (gold) cross, found in Suffolk, exhibited, 139
 — and Roman rings found in Suffolk, 159
 SCOTT, J. B., on a vase found in Cannon-street, 68
 — on an enamel dug up at Petworth,
 149
 — exhibits two handles of Oriental
 weapons, 156
 Seal found at Runwell, 140
 — Southwick abbey, 144
 Sepulchral cave at Guernsey, 64-67
 — urns found at Newark, 192-193
 Serjeant-at-arms, a brass representing, 360
 Silver fibula found at Lewisham, 143
 — penny found at Ipswich, 360
 — ring, exhibited, 151
 — found at Staines, 143
 SOLLY, S. R., on Roman remains found at St.
 Albans, 77
 Southwell, architectural history of the collegiate
 church of, 265-303
 Spiritual will of the time of Edward IV, 365

Spoons, pewter, of the time of Elizabeth, found in
 Lancashire, 365
 Spurs found at Wexford, 55
 — and keys found at Sandwich, 161
 St. Bride's, Derbyshire, notes on, 152
 St. John, Winchester, wall paintings in, 156
 Sword of the 15th century, found in Kent, 150

T

Tapestry, a fine piece of, exhibited, 72
 — on the manufacture of, 72
 Testoon of Edward VI, found at Framlingham, 159
 THOMPSON, — exhibits a Roman pig of lead, 55
 Tower-hill, excavations near the Roman wall on
 240-242
 Tradesmen's signs, 162
 — tokens exhibited, 142
 TUCKER, S. I., exhibits a Roman urn, 54
 Tumulus at Royston opened, 371

V

Vase found in Cannon-street, 68
 Vases, ancient Chinese, 18

W

Wall paintings at Bramdean church, Hants, 155
 — St. John, Winchester, 156
 WALLER, J. G., on painted glass in Morley church,
 28-34
 WARREN, J., exhibits various Saxon and Roman
 rings found in Suffolk, 159
 — an enamelled brooch found
 at Ixworth, 364
 Wax, obtained from the bandages of bishop Lynde-
 wode, 145
 Weight, a pound, of the time of Elizabeth, 1538,
 exhibited, 370
 Weights and measures, on the antiquity of marking
 and stamping, 309-322
 — in Scotland, observations on,
 366
 Welling church, Norman font in, 77
 WHITE, A., on the analysis of bronze, 145
 — on the fortifications of London, 149
 Windows, early church, 6

Y

YEWD, W., on Lamb's conduit and Spring head, 73

LIST OF ENGRAVINGS.

PLATES.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Polycephalic amulets, 1 2. Early church windows, 6 3. Ancient Chinese zodiac, 22 4, 10. — vases, 22, <i>et seq.</i> 11, 12. Painted glass in Morley church, 28 13. Bronze Roman lamps found in London, 56 14. Body of bishop Lyndewode, 62 15. Ancient remains found in Northamptonshire, 67 16. Sepulchral slab in Runwell church, 68 17. Etching from cast of the face of bishop Lyndewode, 70 18. Porch of Guildhall, 88 19. Crypt of ditto, 92 20. Details of ditto, <i>ib.</i> 21. Plan of the theatre in Barber's hall, 118 22, 23. Helmets of various periods, 131-134 24. Gold Saxon cross, 139 | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 25. Encaustic tiles in Oxfordshire, 151 26. Wall paintings in Brandean church, 155 27. Urns found at Newark, 189 28. ——— Kingston-upon-Soar, <i>ib.</i> 29. Saxon remains found at Colgrave, 191 30. Roman remains found at Tower-hill, 241 31. Encaustic tiles from Thurgarton priory, 249 32, 33, 34. Architectural plans and details of the collegiate church of Southwell, 270, <i>et seq.</i> 35. Sculpture, etc., at Lincoln and Southwell, 304 36. Ancient remains found in the Isle of Wight, 324 37. Celt, amulet, etc., found at Cuedale, 332 38. Bascinet with camail, 354 39. Spoons, etc., found at "The Ranglet", 365 40. Jewel supposed to have belonged to Mary queen of Scots, 372 |
|---|--|

WOOD-CUTS.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Basement stone of Roman gateway, 42 2. Facsimile of the signature of Henry VIII, 45 3. ——— Thos. Berthelet, <i>ib.</i> 4. ——— Sir T. Audley, 52 5. Roman camp pot, 55 6. Spur found at Wexford, <i>ib.</i> 7, 8. Sepulchral cave at Guernsey, 65 9. Silver fibula, 143 10. Tympanum at St. Bride's, 153 11. Capital from ditto, <i>ib.</i> 12. Pilgrim's token, 160 13-15. Bead and bear in jet, <i>ib.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 16. Ossea tibia, 161 17, 18. Ancient chessmen in jet, 162 19. Weight of temp. Charles I, 309 20. Plan of marsh near Newport, 323 21. Chain mail, 355 22. Ditto, 357 23. Bronze cylinder of a pilgrim's staff, 360 24. Inscription on the same, <i>ib.</i> 25. Pilgrim's token found at Winchester, 363 26. Enamelled fibula found at Ixworth, 364 27. Bronze fibula found at Maidstone, 369 28. Ancient drinking bowl, 370 |
|---|---|

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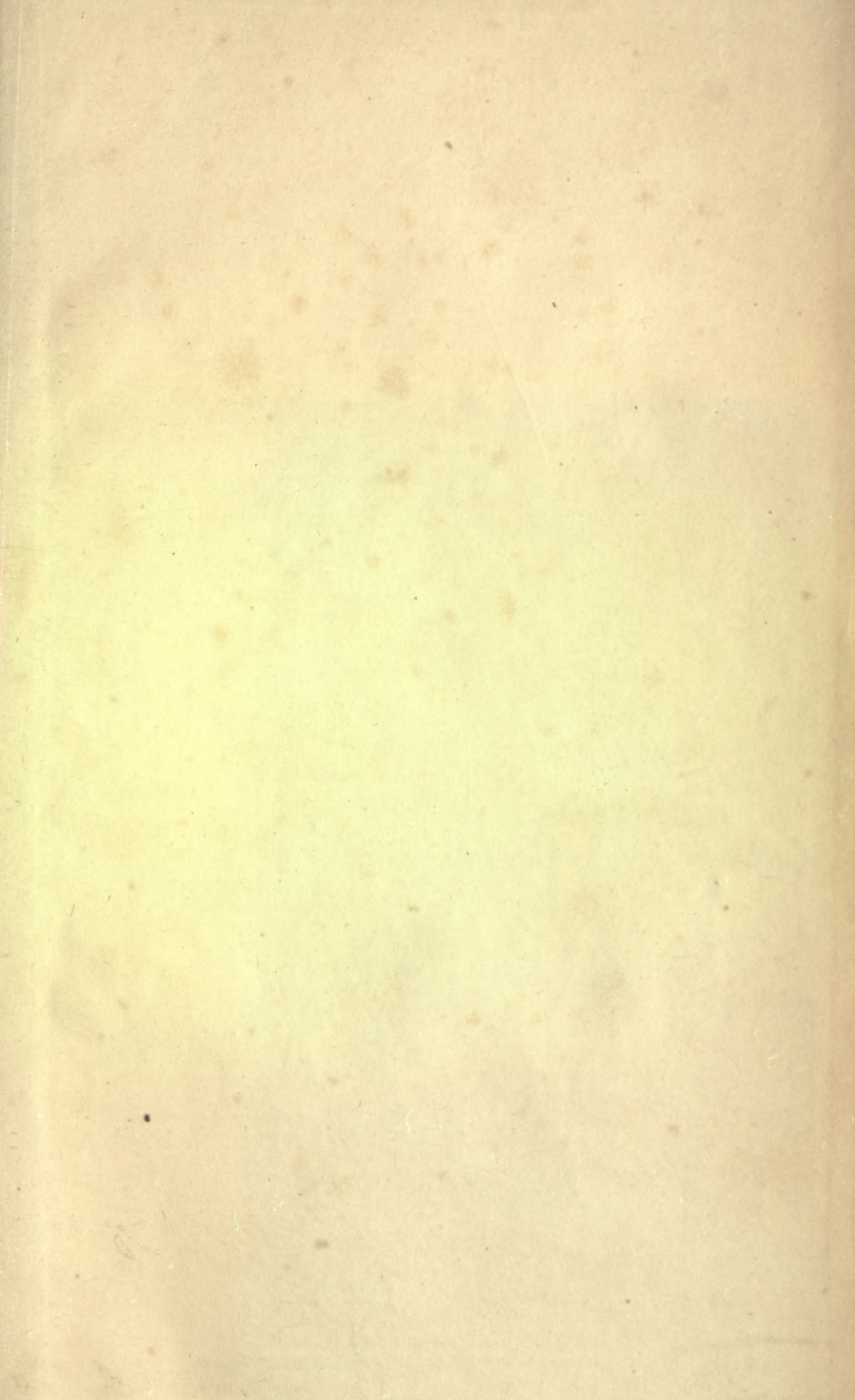
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